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THE

INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY:

VOL. II.

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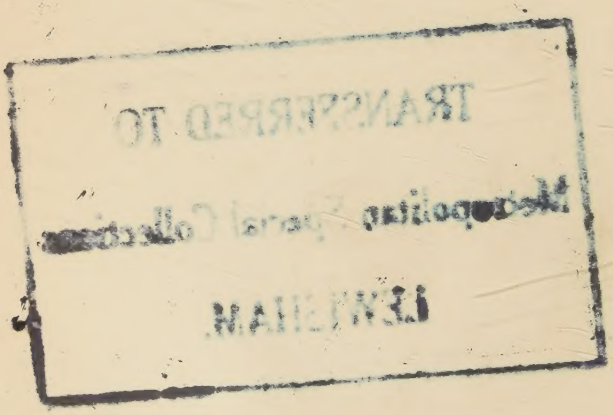
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THE

INTERMEDIATE TEXT-BOOK

OF

ENGLISH HISTORY:

VOLUME II.

BEING

A LONGER HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM **1485** TO **1603.**

BY

C. S. FEARENSIDE, M.A. OXON.,

HONOURMAN IN MODERN HISTORY AND CLASSICS (FIRST CLASS),

AUTHOR OF "THE ENTRANCE HISTORY OF ENGLAND."

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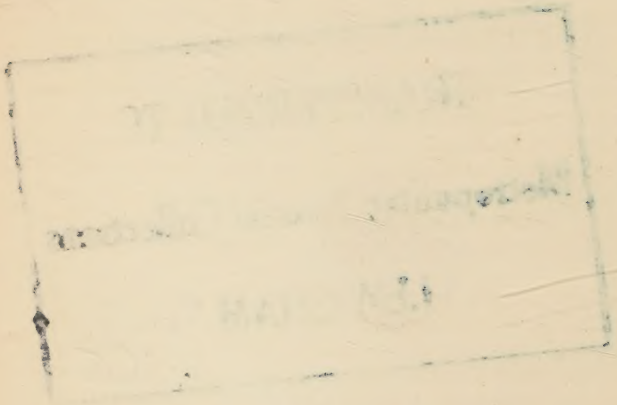

PREFACE.

LIKE most of the other books in the "Tutorial Series," this volume is intended to meet the wants not only of the student who takes up the subject in order to pass a moderately stiff examination—in this case the Intermediate Arts Examination of London University—but also of the student who wishes to make his reading for such an examination the groundwork of a sound knowledge of the subject. For the sake of the former class I have made the treatment as concise as seemed compatible with being at once comprehensive and comprehensible; for the sake of the latter class I have inserted a considerable number of cross-references and of references to other sources of information. For the benefit of both classes alike I have abandoned the chronological method whenever there appeared to be a distinct gain in grouping matters otherwise (*e.g.* Intro., §§ 17-20; ch. viii., §§ 1-8); and when the matter is chronologically arranged, an occasional pause gives an opportunity for reviewing the narrative.

Throughout, I have tried to content myself with stating *ends* and with confining criticism to *means*; to discriminate, wherever possible, between contemporary and modern points of view; to check the student's tendency to read his own surroundings—political, religious, social, or economic—into his conception of the past; and to exhibit the many-sidedness of at least a few leading facts and events, by way of warning against the crude offhand judgments that proceed from treating the complex as simple. The endeavour to be *explanatory* rather than *descriptive* will, I hope, justify the existence of the volume in the eyes of teachers and private students.

My special thanks are due to Mr. A. JOHNSON EVANS, of Christ's College, Cambridge, not only for the original sketch on which the Introduction is based, but also for reading through the proof sheets, and the consequent elimination of numerous ambiguous or misleading statements as well as downright errors.

C. S. F.

BURLINGTON HOUSE, CAMBRIDGE,
May 1893.

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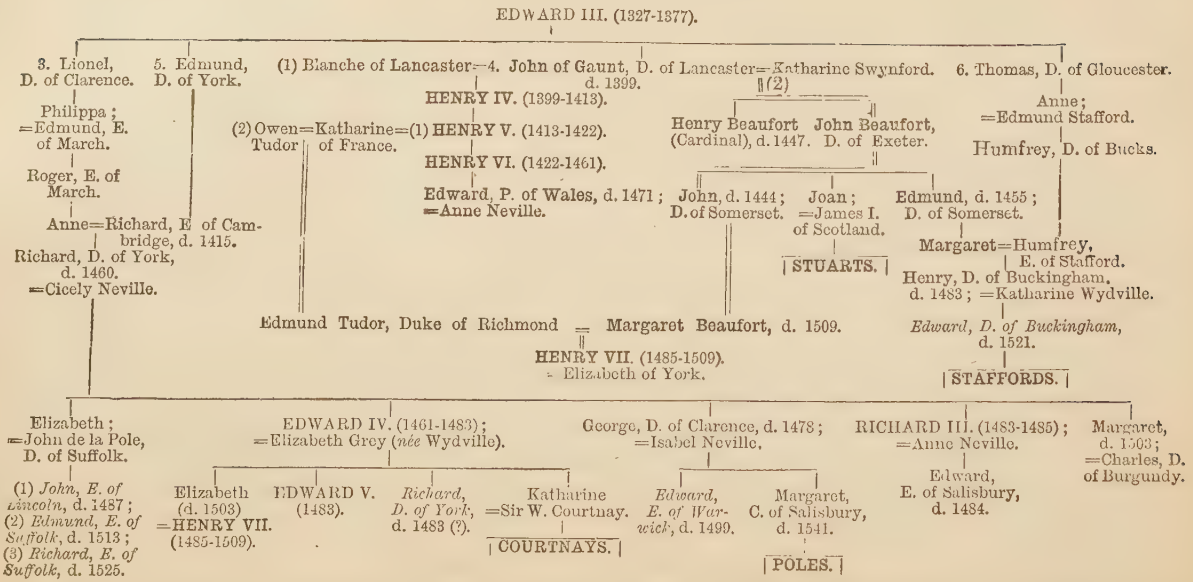
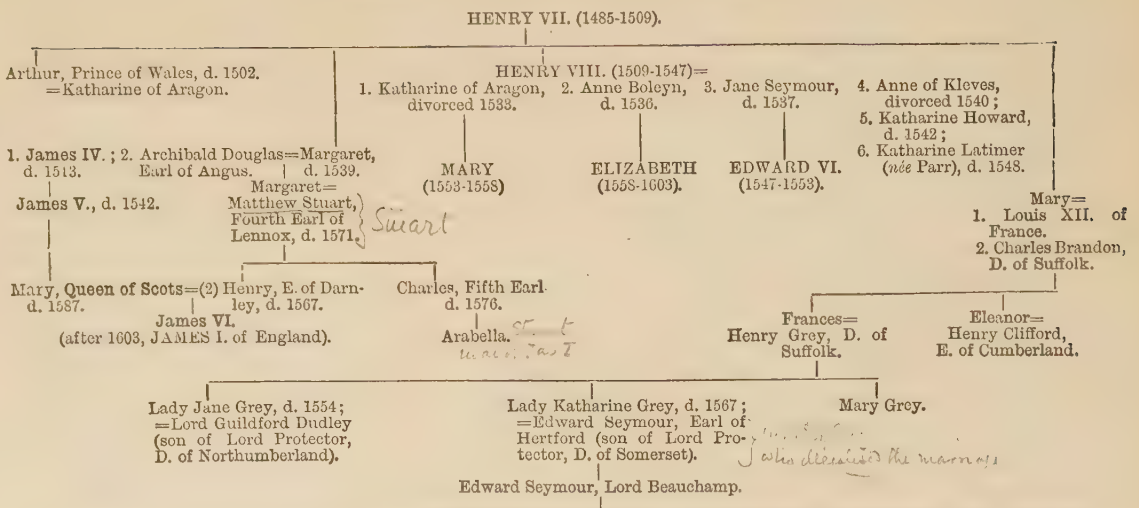

EDWARD III. (1327-1377).
3. Lionel, D. of Clarence.
5. Edmund, D. of York.
(1) Blanche of Lancaster=4. John of Gaunt, D. of Lancaster=Katharine Swynford. (2)
d. 1399.
6. Thomas, D. of Gloucester.
HENRY IV. (1399-1413).
Philippa; =Edmund, E. of March.
(2) Owen=Katharine=(1) HENRY V. (1413-1422).
Tudor of France.
Henry Beaufort (Cardinal), d. 1447.
John Beaufort, D. of Exeter.
Anne; =Edmund Stafford.
HENRY VI. (1422-1461).
Humfrey, D. of Bucks.
Roger, E. of March.
Edward, P. of Wales, d. 1471; =Anne Neville.
John, d. 1444; D. of Somerset.
Joan; =James I. of Scotland.
Edmund, d. 1455; D. of Somerset.
Anne=Richard, E of Cambridge, d. 1415.
STUARTS.
Margaret=Humfrey, E. of Stafford.
Richard, D. of York, d. 1460. =Cicely Neville.
Henry, D. of Buckingham, d. 1483; =Katharine Wydville.
Edmund Tudor, Duke of Richmond = Margaret Beaufort, d. 1509.
HENRY VII. (1485-1509). = Elizabeth of York.
Edward, D. of Buckingham, d. 1521.
STAFFORDS.
Elizabeth; =John de la Pole, D. of Suffolk.
EDWARD IV. (1461-1483); =Elizabeth Grey (née Wydville).
George, D. of Clarence, d. 1478; =Isabel Neville.
RICHARD III. (1483-1485); =Anne Neville.
Margaret, d. 1503; =Charles, D. of Burgundy.
(1) John, E. of Lincoln, d. 1487; (2) Edmund, E. of Suffolk, d. 1513; (3) Richard, E. of Suffolk, d. 1525.
Elizabeth (d. 1503) =HENRY VII. (1485-1509).
EDWARD V. (1483).
Richard, D. of York, d. 1483 (?).
Katharine =Sir W. Courtnay.
COURTNAYS.
Edward, E. of Warwick, d. 1499.
Margaret, C. of Salisbury, d. 1541.
POLES.
Edward, E. of Salisbury, d. 1484.

NOTE.—The Lancastrians and family names in dark type; eminent rivals of the Tudors in *italics*; sovereigns in capitals (the figure within brackets denoting the period of their reigns). The descent of Henry VII. shown by a double line.

Stemma of the Tudor Sovereigns.


HENRY VII. (1485-1509).
Arthur, Prince of Wales, d. 1502.
=Katharine of Aragon.
HENRY VIII. (1509-1547)=
1. Katharine of Aragon, divorced 1533.
2. Anne Boleyn, d. 1536.
3. Jane Seymour, d. 1537.
4. Anne of Kleves, divorced 1540;
5. Katharine Howard, d. 1542;
6. Katharine Latimer (née Parr), d. 1548.
1. James IV.; d. 1513.
2. Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus.
Margaret, d. 1539.
MARY (1553-1558)
ELIZABETH (1558-1603).
EDWARD VI. (1547-1553).
James V., d. 1542.
Margaret=Matthew Stuart, Fourth Earl of Lennox, d. 1571.
Stuart
Mary=
1. Louis XII. of France.
2. Charles Brandon, D. of Suffolk.
Mary, Queen of Scots=(2) Henry, E. of Darnley, d. 1567.
d. 1587.
James VI.
(after 1603, JAMES I. of England).
Charles, Fifth Earl d. 1576.
Arabella.
Frances=Henry Grey, D. of Suffolk.
Eleanor=Henry Clifford, E. of Cumberland.
Lady Jane Grey, d. 1554; =Lord Guildford Dudley (son of Lord Protector, D. of Northumberland).
Lady Katharine Grey, d. 1567; =Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford (son of Lord Protector, D. of Somerset).
Mary Grey.
Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp.
Sir William Seymour, Marquis of Hertford=Lady Arabella Stuart (niece to Darnley).

NOTE.—English sovereigns in capitals (the dates within brackets denoting the period of their reigns); Scots sovereigns in dark type.

Conspectus of Reigns and Treaties, 1485-1603.

(The more important names are printed in dark type).

PAPACY.	EMPIRE.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	BALTIC POWERS.	VARIOUS.	TREATIES, ETC.
INNOCENT VIII. (1484) [*Giovanni Cibo*]	FREDERICK III. (1440).	CHARLES VIII. (1483).	Married, 1469. **Ferdinand II.** [*Aragon*] (1479). [*Table*, p. 84]. **Isabella** [*Castile*] (1474).	**Union of Calmar**, 1397, unites the three Scandinavian kingdoms [till 1523].	JAMES III. [*Sc.*] (1460).	**Fall of Constantinople** (1453).
	[**Matthias Corvinus** captures Vienna 1485].	[*Table*, p. 85].		*Lithuanian* Ho. of **Jagellon**, begins in Poland, 1366.	BAJAZET II. [*O.*] (1481).	*Tr. Pressburg*, (1491).
	[**Frederick**, El. of Saxony, 1486-1535].			*Tr. of Thorn*, 1466, cedes Prussia, land of Teutonic Order, to Poland.	**Iwan III.**, the first Grand Duke of Muscovy to assume title *Tzar* [*R.*] (1462-1505).	*Tr. Estaples*, (1492).
			JOHN II. [*P.*] (1481).	JOHN ALBERT [*P.*] (1492).	JAMES IV. [*Sc.*] (1488).	**Columbus discovers West Indies** (1492).
Alexander VI. (1492) [*Rodrigo Borgia*].	**Maximilian I.** (1493) [who had, in 1477, married Mary, heiress of Valois *Ho. of Burgundy*].	[**Invasion of Italy**, 1494].	[**Conquest of Granada**, 1492].		WLADISLAS, K. of Bohemia since death of **George Podiebrad** in 1471, succeeds **Matthias Corvinus**, as K. of Hungary, 1490.	*Trr. Senlis and Tordesillas* (1493).
		LOUIS XII. (1498).	EMANUEL [*P.*] (1495).			*Intercursus Magnus* (1496).
PIUS III. (1503) [*Francesco Piccolomini*].			[ISABELLA, *d.* 1504].	ALEXANDER [*P.*] (1501).		**Vasco da Gama to Kálikat**, (1498).
Julius II. (1503) [*Giuliano della Rovere*].	[Max. takes title of "Emperor-Elect," 1508].		[*Ferdinand takes title "Ferdinand V. of Spain,"* 1512].	SIGISMUND I. [*P.*] (1506).		*Tr. Granada* (1500).
						Tr. Richmond (1502).
						Intercursus Malus (1506).
[Lateran Council, 1512].						*LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY* (1508).
					SELIM I. [*O.*] (1512).	*Holy League* (1511).

Papacy.	Empire.	France.	Spain.	Baltic Powers.	Various.	Treaties, etc.
Leo X. (1513) [*Giovanni de' Medici*].	[Luther's 95 Propositions, 1517]. **Charles V.** 1519].	**Francis I.** (1515) [*Concordat with Rome*, 1516].	Charles I. (1516).	Christian II. of Oldenburg [*D.*, *Sw.*, and *N.*] (1513).	Lewis II. [*H.* and *B.*] (1516). [Ottoman Conquest of Egypt, 1516].	· *Tr. Noyon* (1516).
Hadrian VI. (1522).	[Diet of Worms, 1521].		[**Revolt of Communidades**, 1520-1].		**Suleiman the Law-giver** [*O.*] (1519).	*Tr. London* (1518).
Clement VII. (1523). [*Giulio de' Medici*].	[**B. Mohacz**, 1526].	[**B. Pavia**, 1525].	John III. [*P.*] (1521).	Frederick I. [*D.* and *N.*] (1523).		*Tr. Madrid* (1526).
[**Sack of Rome**, 1527].	["Protest" of Speier, and **1st Ottoman Siege of Vienna**, 1529].			**Gustavus Wasa**, [*Sw.*] (1523).	**Bábar**, 1*st* *Grand Mughal* (1526).	*Trr. Barcelona* and *Cambray* (1529).
Paul III. (1534) [*Alessandro Farnese*].	[Ferdinand chosen *King of the Romans*, 1531].			[Albert of Brandenburg becomes Duke of *Prussia*, 1525].	Humáyan [*G.M.*] (1530).	*League of Schmalkalde* (1530).
[**Society of Jesus approved**, 1540].	[Diet of Ratisbon, 1541].		[*Suppression of Cortes of Castile*, 1538].	[Sweden follows Luther, 1527]. [Denmark follows Luther, 1534].	**Iwan IV.**, "the Terrible" [*R.*] (1533).	*Tr. Kappel* (1531). *Tr. Nürnberg* (1532).
[**Council of Trent**: *Sess. I.*, 1545-7].	**B. Mühlberg** (1547). *The Interim* (1548).	Henry II. (1547).		Sigismund Augustus, last **Jagellon** K. of Poland (1548-72).	[Humáyan exiled, 1540 till 1555.] **Mary** [*Sc.*] (1542).	*Truce of Nice* (1538). *Tr. Brömsebro* (1541). *Tr. Crespy* (1544).
Julius III. (1550). [*Del Monte*]. [**Council of Trent**: *Sess. II.*, 1551].	[Albert III., E. of Bavaria, 1550-79].					*Tr. Boulogne* (1546). *Tr. Passau* (1552). *Tr. Friedewalde* (1552).

Conspectus of Reigns and Treaties, 1485-1603.

(*Continued.*)

Papacy.	Empire.	France.	Spain.	Baltic Powers.	Various.	Treaties, etc.
						Peace of Augsburg (1555).
Marcellus II., **Paul IV.** (1555) [*Gian Petro Caraffa*].			**Philip II.** (1556). Sebastian [*P.*] (1557).		**Akbar** [*G. M.*] (1556-1605).	*Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis* (1559).
Pius IV. (1559) [*Gian Giacomo Medicino*]. [**Council of Trent**: *Sess. III.*, 1562-3].	Ferdinand II. (1559). Maximilian II. (1564).	Francis II. (1559). Charles IX. (1560). [**Massacre of Vassy**, 1562].		Frederick II. [*D.* and *N.*] (1559). Eric [*Sw.*] (1560).	Selim II. [*O.*] (1566).	*Trr. of Leith and Edinburgh* (1560). *French Catholic League* (1568).
Pius V. (1566) [*Michele Ghizlieri*]. **Gregory XIII.** (1572).		[**Massacre of S. Bartholomew's**, 1572].	**Revolt of Netherlands** (1566). Henry I. [*P.*] (1578).	John deposes Eric [*Sw.*] (1568). Stephen Bathori [*P.*] (1574).	James VI. [*Sc.*] (1567). [**B. Lepanto**, 1571]. Murad III. [*O.*] (1574).	*Tr. Stettin* (1570). *Pacification of Ghent* (1576). *Union of Utrecht* (1579).
Sixtus V. (1585). Urban VII., Gregory XIV. (1590). Innocent IX. (1591). Clement VIII. (1592).	Rudolf II. (1576). [*Gebhard Truchsess driven from his see of Cologne*, 1581].	Henry III. (1574). Henry IV. ($15\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{3}$). [**Edict of Nantes**, 1598].	[**Conquest of Portugal**, 1580: won back by a Braganza, 1640]. **Armada** (1588). [*Suppression of Cortes of Aragon*, 1590]. Philip III. (1598).	**Christian IV.** [*D.* and *N.*] (1588-1648). Sigismund III. [*P.*] (1587). [*Sw.*] (1592). **Charles IX.** deposes Sigismund [*Sw.*] (1604-11).	Feodor, the last of the House of Ruric [*R.*] (1584). [**William the Silent**, *d.* 1584]. Boris Godunof [*R.*] (1598).	*Tr. Plussis* (1580). *Tr. Berwick* (1586). *Peace of Teusin* (1595). *Tr. of Vervins* (1598).
Leo XI. (1605).	Matthias (1612).	Louis XIII. (1610).	Philip IV. (1621).		Jehangir [*G. M.*] (1605).	

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GUIDE TO THE MAP OF EUROPE.

I. THE EMPIRE: nominal border shown by *red* line; the chief territories and districts marked in heavy type [Introduction, § 9]. *Notabilia:—*

i. *It was not as large as it used to be.* In Century XII. its western frontier had run west of the Saône and Rhone, and it had extended south into Italy as far as the Neapolitan frontier (which is shown in the Map).

ii. *It did not, for practical purposes, include all the territory shown in the map:* the most notable exceptions being—

(*a*) "**Switzerland**" (coloured *pink*): a modern name for the group of cantons [the full tale of **13** is completed **1513**] whose formal style is "the Old League of High Germany"; formally independent of the Empire, **1648.**

(*b*) **The Netherlands** (coloured *yellow*): through Valois House of Burgundy [Intro., § 10] fall into Spanish-Hapsburg hands; they revolt, **1568**: the seven Northern provinces form a federation **1579,** and are finally recognised as independent both of Spain and of the Empire, **1648.**

(*c*) The seven Electorates [Intro., § 6] are underlined.

II. FRANCE (which, like the countries with which it is more or less in political sympathy, is coloured *blue*): the chief territories are shown in heavy type, and the dates appended indicate the time of their absorption by the Crown. Intro., § 12. *Chief territorial changes during the Tudor Period:—*

i. *Losses:* **Roussillon** [to Spain, **1493** –**1659**]; **Flanders** and **Artois** [relieved from homage by *Treaty of Madrid*, **1526**: partly conquered from Spain by Louis XIV.];

ii. *Gains:* **Brittany** absorbed [**1491**], and **Calais** recovered [**1558**]; N. part of **Navarre, 1589**; "**the Three Bishoprics,**" Metz, Toul, and Verdun [occupied, **1552**; formally ceded. **1648**]; the **N.W. Savoyard Lands** (lying between the Saône and the Rhone), **1601.**

III. BRANDENBURG, SAVOY, AND VENICE are all coloured *brown,* in token of the fact that they are similar in being all borderlands. *Notabilia:—*

i. **The Mark of Brandenburg** is still overshadowed by Saxony. Not till **1611** does its Hohenzollern ruler acquire the **Duchy of Prussia** [the territory of the Teutonic Knights, lying outside the Empire, and secularised in **1525**; a fief of Poland, **1466—1647**]. Not till **1701** does Prussia rank as a kingdom: not till **1772** does she acquire the lands between Prussia and Brandenburg.

ii. **Savoy** gradually travels further towards Italy, the royal crown of which has, in the Nineteenth Century, come to the ducal house of Savoy.

iii. **Venice**: after the War of Cambray, **1508** –**1511**, mainly occupied in keeping Turkish hands off its Eastern dominions.

IV. HAPSBURG DOMINIONS (coloured *yellow*): Intro., §§ 10-11. *Notabilia:—*

i. Agglomeration of Slave, Magyar, Burgundian, and Spanish lands.

ii. *Partition on the resignation of Charles V.*, **1556** [Tree, p. 84]:—

(*a*) *Austrian Branch:* **Austrian, Bohemian,** and **Alsatian** Lands (*inside the Empire*), to his brother, the Emperor Ferdinand I., King of **Hungary.**

(*b*) *Spanish Branch:* Spain and her Colonies [and after **1580** the **Portuguese dominions**], **Naples, Milan,** the **County of Burgundy,** and the **Netherlands,** to his son, Philip II. of Spain. [Cf. Intro., § 13.]

V. OTTOMAN EMPIRE (coloured *green*; eastern extension somitted). Restricted to the South of the Danube and Transilvanian Alps by Hungary in Century XV.: by battle of Mohacz, **1526,** extended so as to take in the greater part of Hungary [till **1699**].

NOTE.—For further particulars see Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe.*

[*To face p.* 1.

HISTORY OF ENGLAND, 1485—1603.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

I. Constitutional History of England to 1485.—§ 1. How England became and remained *one*.—§ 2. The *Curia Regis*, the County-Court and the Parliament.—§ 3. The Commons in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries.—§ 4. Lancastrian Constitutionalism and its reaction, the New Monarchy.

II. International History to 1485.—§ 5. The Fusion of the Roman Empire and the Catholic Church.—§ 6. The Conflict between the Spiritual and the Temporal Powers, and its results.—§ 7. The Fifteenth Century as the Close of the Middle Ages.—§ 8. The Disunion of Italy.—§ 9. Germany: the Imperial Idea *v.* Territorialism. § 10. The Attempt of the Valois Dukes of Burgundy to found a Middle Kingdom.—§ 11. The Design of the Hapsburg Dukes of Austria to found a Border Monarchy.—§ 12. The Unification of France: Louis XI.—§ 13. The Unification of Spain: Ferdinand and Isabella.—§ 14. Some Common Points in the New Governmental Methods of England, France, and Spain: (*a*) Secular.—§ 15. Ditto: (*b*) Ecclesiastical.—§ 16. Drifts and Dates of the Transition.

III. Survey of the Tudor Period, 1485—1603.—§ 17. Political Forces of the Sixteenth Century.—§ 18. The Renascence and the Reformation: some causes and tendencies.—§ 19. The Renascence as "the Discovery of Man": the Revival of Letters in Italy, Germany, and England—§ 20. The Renascence as "the Discovery of the World": Geographical Discoveries of Portugal, Spain, and England; their Commercial and other effects.—§ 21. The Reformation: (*a*) its Causes and Antecedents.—§ 22. (*b*) Its Nature and Object; the Basis of Protestantism.—§ 23. (*c*) Its Schools.—§ 24. (*d*) Its Ecclesiastical Effects.—§ 25. (*e*) Three typical Estimates—Catholic, Protestant and Scientific.—§ 26. (*f*) Its Ultimate Political Effects.—§ 27. (*g*) The Sixteenth-Century Contest.—§ 28. The English Renascence Constitution.—§ 29. The Church-State of the Middle Ages: the Elizabethan Settlement of Church Creed and Government.—§ 30. The Tudors and the Stuarts: a Prospect and a Contrast.

I. Constitutional History of England to 1485.—§ 1.

The Migration of the English to Britain.

England, the land of the English, was not always in the place where it is now marked on our maps. Our fathers, the Teutonic tribes severally known to us as English, Saxons, and Jutes, once

lived round the mouth of the Elbe; and it was not till the fifth century of our era that they crossed the North Sea and made numerous settlements along the coast of the island opposite to their homes. The first known name of that island was *Albion*: later the Romans, who occupied it from 43 to 410 A.D., called it *Britannia* from the name of the Keltic inhabitants of its southern parts, who called themselves *Brythons* or *Kymry*, and were called by our ancestors, all ignorant of descent from a common "Aryan" stock, *Welsh*, *i.e.* "foreigners." The English settled at various points along the coast as far north as the Firth of Forth, and from each of these as a centre gradually spread inland, either slaying, or enslaving, or driving before them into the hill-region of the West the people they found dwelling in the land.

How England became *one*: Christianity.

Before the English Conquest was completed, a great change began to come over the invaders. The scattered kingdoms—for in the stress of conquest the different hordes had taken to themselves *kings*—were converted to Christianity by various means; and before the end of the seventh century England was the name of a Church governed in the main from Canterbury. The new religion was the first force that tended to union: the second, growing up under the shadow of the unifying Church, was the national Kingship, developed in meeting a fresh invasion—that of the Danes. This Kingship may be said to have fairly established itself when Æthelstan (924-941), having subdued the Danes, called himself "King of the English" and "Emperor of all the Britons," the latter title implying not only independence of the revived Holy Roman Empire (§ 5), but also superiority, vague enough, over the other kings in Britain, whether Welsh or Scottish or Anglo-Scottish.

Feudalism *v.* a Central Administrative System.

§ 2. But how preserve this unity? In the tenth century, it seemed as though the answer was going to be "Feudalism." But the great earldoms set up by the Danish and the later "Saxon" kings were done away with by the Norman kings, who sternly set themselves to confining feudalism to the sphere of *land-tenure* and not permitting it to grow into a "system" of *government*. At the Great Gemot of

Salisbury, 1086, every landholder was put into direct touch with the King by an oath of *allegiance* that was to override the oath of *fealty* he swore to his immediate lord; and the duties of this allegiance were enforced by the King's Court.

The Angevin Constitution.

This *Curia Regis* took definite shape in the hands of Henry II., and made its financial, judicial, and political power felt all over England by means of that union of central and local authority which is known as the Angevin Shire-moot or County-Court.* When one of the members of the central body, known as the itinerant justice, presided in the meeting of the county, assisted by the sheriff and attended by all the freemen of the shire, and inquired into matters fiscal, military, and judicial, we can see in such an assembly the embryo of the two institutions which we regard to-day as the chief elements of our English Constitution—the Grand Jury and the House of Commons. The system of "inquest by jury" was forced by foreign kings on our forefathers, who learned all unwillingly—because they were always connected with the transfer of money from the individual to the State—the legal methods of which we are so proud to-day. The minds of Englishmen were so thoroughly moulded and hardened into legal ways that, when reckless and incapable kings like Richard I. and John abused the system that they had inherited, the lawyer nobles of the North found nothing better fitted to curb the arbitrary nature of their government than a charter (the famous *Magna Carta*) binding the King henceforth to keep to the laws thus evolved.

From *Magna Carta* to the Model Parliament.

The conflict between the Kingship and the Baronage (clerical and lay) which centred round the Great Charter lasted for eighty years (1215—1295), and gave rise to many experiments in constitution-making: attempts were made whenever things got very bad—*e.g.* in 1215 and 1258—1265—to assert the right of an assembly of feudal tenants-in-chief to limit the resources of the Crown in respect of both finance and policy. The leader of the second of these attempts, Simon

* This "County-Court" has nothing but the name in common with the County-Court familiar to us. The *new* County-*Court*, set up in 1846, is a revival of the civil jurisdiction of the old hundred-court: it is in the County-*Councils* set up in 1888, that we see some of the administrative functions of the *old* County-Court revived.

de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, had the insight to see that this was too narrow a basis, and took the people into partnership. He fell at Evesham in 1265; but the victor there, Edward I., became his disciple, and after many experiments gathered together, in 1295, that famous assembly from which lawyers date the existence of the outline of our modern Constitution. Henceforth our National Council contained, besides the great barons, both spiritual and lay (bishops and abbots, earls and barons), representatives of the counties, cities, burghs, and, for a while, of the inferior clergy. To this body we henceforth confine the name *Parliament*, hitherto given to any national palaver.

About the same time most of the countries of Western Europe were forming similar assemblies; but ours would seem to have two unique and saving features which account for its endurance in strong contrast with their failure: in the first place, our Parliament was not a gathering of classes or estates simply, but of localities also; and, secondly, the gentry and the townsfolk, hostile in other lands, came together to form the "Third Estate" of our Parliament.

The Growth of the *Commons*.

§ 3. From 1295 the contest is not simply between King and Barons, as heretofore, but between King, Barons, and this "Third Estate," or "Commons" —*i.e.* the representatives of the lay communes or communities, both counties and towns. The Barons attempted to set aside both King and Commons in 1310 by the famous *Ordinances* of that year: Richard II. attempted to abolish the privileges of both Barons and Commons at the Parliament of Shrewsbury in 1398. The first attempt was overthrown by Edward II. in 1322, the second by the Duke of Lancaster in 1399: in each case the result was an alliance between the Kingship and the Third Estate. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, therefore, we find the House of Commons apparently growing in strength: they gain a certain control over the royal revenue; they initiate, though they are far from controlling, legislation by bill; they evolve the right of impeachment (1376); and they are called to assist in depositions and elevations of kings (1327 and 1399). But it is important to note throughout that the evolution of their power follows on the lines

of the shire-moots out of which they grew, and of which they may be regarded as, by representation, the accumulation. As the juries of the shire-moots assessed taxation, tried criminals, defined the armour of each citizen, so the House of Commons voted taxes, accused great "criminals" —*i.e.*, statesmen who were opposed to their views—and regulated the defence of the country. What the shire-moot had been able to do, that the House of Commons could do likewise: what exceeded the powers of the shire-moot exceeded also the powers of Parliament.

Lancastrian Constitutionalism.

§ 4. The Fifteenth Century witnessed what Bishop Stubbs has called "the trial and failure of a great constitutional experiment"—that of constitutional government, or government carried on by the constant co-operation of King and Nation. The Lancastrian House tried to work hand in hand with the Parliament which, to save Church and Commons from the spoliation with which Richard II. had threatened the one and from the despotism with which he had threatened the other, had in 1399 called it to the throne. The attempt was premature: neither in its structure nor in its conceptions was Parliament yet fitted for such a task. The Commons for some forty years were in the regular exercise of powers which, as we have seen, they had claimed in the Fourteenth Century, and they protected themselves in the use of these powers by the definition of such privileges as Freedom of Speech and Freedom from Arrest, and by the acquisition of the privilege of settling disputes with regard to its own internal composition. But the House of Commons rested on a narrow basis: consequently not only could it not rely for certain on strong popular support, but it could itself be readily manipulated. It was woefully deficient in political insight: *e.g.*, it insisted on the prosecution of a vigorous foreign policy while it withheld the necessary supplies. And it was unable to devise a mechanism for seeing its will duly carried out, like the Cabinet which was slowly evolved in the similar circumstances that followed the final overthrow, in 1688, of the Stuart Despotism.

The Commons were deserted by their natural leaders: the Baronage had other fish to fry. A system of intermarriage

had at once reduced its numbers and, by the concentration of estates in a few hands, increased the local power of its individual members; and the family jealousies thus developed fought themselves out in the civil wars which arose out of the weakness of Lancastrian rule at home and its final loss of France (1453), and which took the shape of a dynastic struggle (Table, p. xii.) known as the "Wars of the Roses." The White Rose of York won at Towton, 1461, in the person of Edward IV., but the crimes which his brother Richard III. committed to secure the throne which he had seized from his murdered nephew, Edward V., so weakened him, that in 1485 (ch. i., § 1), he was deprived of his throne by a semi-Lancastrian exile, named Henry Tudor, who became king as Henry VII.

The Wars of the Roses.

The constitutional position at his accession may be briefly summarised. The *Clergy*, anxious rather for the preservation of their vast landed property than for promoting the spiritual welfare of their flocks; and the *Commons*, sick of factious politics and bent on money-making, were alike ready to submit almost unreservedly to any king who could give them firm government; and the *Baronage*, weakened in numbers, still more in power and prestige, by the civil wars, were less inclined to oppose the King collectively as an estate in Parliament than to support him individually as Councillors. Hence it was that, in Hallam's words, "the founder of the House of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute but to a vigorous Prerogative"—a Prerogative very little restrained (§ 28) by what the same writer calls

Hallam's "Checks."

"The Five Essential Checks on the Royal Authority."

(i) The King could levy no new tax on his people except by the grant of his Parliament.

(ii) The previous assent and authority of Parliament was necessary for every new law, whether of a general or temporary nature.

(iii) No men could be committed to prison but by a legal warrant specifying his offence; and by a *constitutional* usage nearly tantamount to *legal* right, he must speedily be brought to trial by means of a regular sessions of gaol-delivery.

(iv) The fact of guilt or innocence on a *criminal* charge was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made; *civil* rights, so far as they depend on questions of fact, were subject to the same decision.

(v) The officers or servants of the Crown, violating the right of personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or in some cases were liable to criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the direct order of the King.

II. International History of Europe to 1485.—§ 5. In the years 323-325 A.D., the Roman Empire —then under Constantine—and the Christian Church united to form what in its *secular* aspect is called the "Holy Roman Empire," and in its *religious* aspect was the "Holy Catholic Church." The history of the complex institution thus brought into being is the history of Europe.* Aforetime there had been a Christian Church or Churches free and independent of the State, sometimes persecuted by it: from the reign of Constantine the State protected and controlled the Church. The antagonism between Church and State with which we are so familiar was as yet undreamt of: Church and State were, one might say, identical, every citizen being *ipso facto* a catholic, and in both aspects owning allegiance to one supreme head, the Emperor. In the course of time, this state of things came to be regarded as Divinely appointed, as the "Kingdom of Heaven" which Jesus of Nazareth had founded, and treatises were written to prove and maintain this position.

The Empire and the Church.

On the death of Theodosius in the year 395, the Greek or Eastern part of the Roman Empire finally separated from the Latin or Western part. Henceforth they have a separate history: the Eastern became a Greek-Roman Nation-Church, with a territory whose conflict with successive waves of Muhammadans (Saracens, Seljuk Turks and Ottoman Turks) is part of the story of Europe, and whose fall in 1453 was a world-wide event in more senses than one. The Crusades were an episode in the history of this Byzantine Empire.

The abiding division of the Empire.

Western Rome had a different, perhaps stranger, course to run. It was what may be called a Church-State. Its temporal power was thoroughly broken down by inroads of Teutonic tribes who, though they did not make a clean sweep of it anywhere save in Britain, made a further fusion of its Roman-Christian

The Holy Roman Empire.

* This theme is worked out in one of the most fascinating historical works ever written—Prof. Bryce's *Holy Roman Empire*—and is the central idea in Prof. Freeman's admirable pocket-guide to the history of the World which is entitled *A General Sketch of European History* (Macmillan, 3*s.* 6*d.*). It is well in following the international history to make constant reference to some historical atlas, such as Prof. Gardiner's *School Atlas of English History* (Longmans, 5*s.*).

elements with their Teutonic laws and customs. In other words, while the Roman *Empire* was dissolved out of the ancient society, the Roman *Church* and *Law* remained and coalesced with the Teutonic elements. It was this union of ecclesiastical Rome with lay Teutonia that created Western Europe. It everywhere developed, as in England (§ 1), so on the Continent, Kingships which served as centres for the tribes and embryo nations, and which acknowledged no regular permanent superior until in A.D. 800 one great king, the Frankish Karl who ruled over all civilized Western Christendom, was crowned Emperor by Leo III., the then Bishop of Rome. In this German king (whom the French call "Charlemagne") was revived in the West the Roman Empire; and almost continuously thenceforth till 1453 there were two persons claiming to represent the ancient Roman Empire—the Greek who reigned in Constantinople, and the German whose capitals were, as a rule, Aachen and Rome.

The Growth of Kingdoms in the West.

§ 6. But neither Catholic Church nor German-Roman Empire could keep order: every baron who could build a fort and hold it, every bishop who could do the same, attempted to make himself sovereign. Some succeeded, some did not; and partly out of this, partly to check this, rose mediæval Kingships. In the Iberian Peninsula there were Kings of Navarre, Castile, Leon, Aragon, and Portugal, each winning more and more territory as they pushed back the Moors, who in A.D. 711 had overthrown the ancient Gothic monarchy of the Peninsula; there were dukes in Paris who became Kings of the Franks—afterwards of France—and who gradually extended their rule over almost all that had been Gaul; there were Kings of Germany and Italy who ruled over as much as they could at different times of those countries, and who soon became merged into one person—the Emperor; and in our own islands there were Kings of the English and of the Scots as well as kings in Ireland. Thus side by side, or rather intermixed, we have four powers—the Empire, the Church, Kingships, and the confusion which has been called Feudalism (§ 1).

The first two at first worked together, but in the Eleventh Century the reformation of the Church worked out by

Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII.) and others emphasized the distinction between them, and led to a war *à outrance* between the Emperors and the Bishops of Rome, in which the latter, under the name of Popes, obtained the victory, and became the recognised heads of the Holy Catholic Church. The course of that war has been summarised by Bishop Stubbs in words so pregnant that their full exposition would require a knowledge of the events that lie beyond the Nineteenth Century: "the idea of the Petrine succession was a developing idea, that of the Caesarean succession was a waning and diminishing idea."

The Two Swords: Political Results of the Struggle.

There were several notable results of this struggle between the Spiritual and the Temporal Powers which is the central interest of the Middle Ages. In the first place, as the Popes' simplest method of weakening their rivals was to encourage the vassal princes and cities of the latter to revolt, Germany and Italy fell to pieces, and remained mere "geographical expressions," not states, till almost our own day.

1. Germany and Italy.

In the second place, "the Empire" became practically restricted to Germany—a Germany which, however, included the whole area contained within the thick line in the map at the beginning of this volume—*i.e.*, not only what we have known, since 1871, as "the German Empire," but also the bulk of the Netherlands, the *County* of Burgundy, the mountain region which we know as "Switzerland," and the north-western parts of what has, since the Holy Roman Empire came to an end in 1806, been known as the "Empire of Austria." Further, the Emperorship became a purely elective dignity, whose vacancies were filled up by a few ecclesiastical and temporal princes of Germany, called "Electors"—just as vacancies in the Popedom were filled up by a somewhat larger number of priests of the Roman City-Churches, called "Cardinals"—and which, as it had no territory and very little power attached to it, had to be given to some powerful prince. From the Fifteenth Century onwards that prince was, with one exception (Charles VII., 1742—1745), the Archduke of Austria, of the family of Hapsburg.

2. The Empire.

3. The Papacy.

Finally, the exigencies of the struggle lowered the character and prestige of the Papacy. Its partizanship during the "Babylonish Captivity" (1305—1376), its rapacity then and during the "Great Schism" which followed, and its neglect to attend to its functions of religious supervision, gave rise to universal discontent. This discontent, during the early part of the Fifteenth Century, found expression in the revival of the early institution of Œcumenical (*i.e.*, universal) Councils—with, however, the serious modification that, owing to the Schism between East and West, these *Councils of Pisa* (1409), *of Constanz* (1414—1418), and *of Basel* (1431—1438) cannot be called "Œcumenical" but only "General." In the long struggle between the Popes and the Councils, which, as a contest between the ideas of *absolute* monarchy and *constitutional* monarchy, often reminds us of our own struggles between King and Parliament, the monarch of Christendom triumphed; and the various ecclesiastical abuses which the General Councils had been designed to check remained and grew. The Church which had so successfully kept Mediaeval Europe together was given yet another century to prepare itself for the far heavier task that lay before it—the guidance of Modern Europe.

Political Characteristics of the Fifteenth Century.

§ 7. *Modern* Europe, because it is with the Fifteenth Century that the Middle Ages pass away. In other words, the old ties binding man to man, community to community—ties which had been in process of elaboration for a thousand years—had worn themselves out, and new ones were unconsciously found to replace them. Feudalism became an impossible basis of healthy society when town artisans and rural labourers rose above the status of villeins: called into existence to secure unity, order, and peace, it everywhere stood convicted of being the prolific source of division, disturbance, and war. A common religion, a common obedience to one representative of Christ on earth, were no longer a sufficient basis for what may, by anticipation, be called international relations. The Fifteenth Century showed that other links than these were necessary: it also showed forth in part what those other links—though their

forging was neither begun nor completed during its course—were to be.

Catholicism.

The absolute failure of the Papacy to effect the desired re-union with the Greek Church, even in that Church's hour of need, or to get up a Crusade against the Turks, even when they set foot for a moment in Italy (1481), were signs that the idea of the unity of Christendom was, as a working force, quite dead, though it was not until the next century (§§ 21—24) that the formal disruption took place. "Pope and Emperor," wrote Æneas Sylvius, the clever Italian who afterwards became Pope Pius II., "are considered nothing but proud titles and splendid figure-heads. Each country has a Prince of its own, and each Prince has his own private interest."

Feudalism.

On the other hand, if the large unity of Europe on a somewhat narrow ecclesiastical basis (§§ 19, 21) turned out to be premature, the infinite division of Europe into petty feudal groups turned out at the same time to be obsolete; and the Fifteenth Century saw something created on the Continent intermediate between the Empire and the fief—something that we may call the modern *state*. As we have already seen in the case of England (§§ 1, 2), this development was closely associated with the fourth of those powers which we have noticed (§ 6) as existing side by side in the Middle Ages—the Kingship. Simultaneously, there was throughout the West of Europe an effort on the part of the more powerful princes to turn their loose feudal suzerainty into an effective sovereignty, and to weld scattered possessions into one dominion.

Modern Nations.

As it is quite impossible to understand either the constitutional or the international history of the Tudor Period without some knowledge of the contemporaneous condition of Europe, it will be well to deal once for all with the success or failure of these efforts after unity in the different countries with which England was brought into contact. To make the story quite clear, pains must be taken not to be misled by the modern political associations of the geographical terms employed: in other words, constant reference must be made to the map at the beginning of this volume or, better still, to a good historical atlas.

§ 8. In Italy, where there was least chance of success, the attempts were feeblest and least effective. Its close connexion with the two representatives of Christian unity had been fatal to its own unity; and the various communities within its borders—the thoroughly feudalised kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the disorderly States of the Church, the duchy of Milan, the oligarchic republic of Venice (extending along the north bank of the Po as far as the Adda), and the crowd of city-states, whether republics or despotisms, in Tuscany and Romagna, of which the chief were Florence and Genoa—strove ceaselessly for the mastery. The Emperors had long ceased to have any weight in their Italian kingdom (which had included all but the two ex-Norman kingdoms of the South); and the Popes, devoting nearly all their resources to the heightening of their temporal position as Italian princes to the neglect of their sacred character, were barely masters of their capital, much less of their territories outside Rome, and so were unable to take the lead in Italy. In fact Machiavelli, a competent critic and close political observer of the early Sixteenth Century, attributed the disunion of Italy to the public policy of the Papacy no less roundly than he did its irreligion to the private conduct of the Popes.

1. Italy.

So long as they were left to themselves, the various Italian potentates jogged along to their own satisfaction, combining against the one who from time to time seemed to be getting dangerously powerful, and thus elaborating that theory of Balance of Power which was shortly to be adopted on a larger scale as the political rule of life in Europe for some centuries. When, however, in 1494, outside powers—"Barbarian" as they were called—stronger than any within the Peninsula, began to interfere, the palmy days of these jealous little states were over so far as political activity was concerned, just as were those of the city-states of Greece when overshadowed by the Macedonian kingship. The earthen vessels could collide without much harm as they floated side by side: it was when the brazen vessels of France and Spain were borne in amongst them that the breakages took place (§§ 12, 13.)*

The French Invasion of Italy, 1494.

§ 9. Germany, like Italy, paid a heavy penalty for its intimate association with the grandeur of the Mediaeval Empire-Church of the West. The Popes who had ejected the Emperors from Italy had irretrievably weakened them in Germany; and if the princes, barons and towns of Germany did, unlike those of Italy, recognise their head, they made up for that by not obeying him. Territorialism was rampant: the Emperor was a mere feudal suzerain intent, like his vassals, on consolidating his power within his own domains rather than on acting up to his position as German King; the Imperial Diet was a feudal assembly of tenants-in-chief with a backing of delegates from the Free Cities of the Empire—*i.e.*, the cities which held directly of the Emperor; there was no military or judicial system for maintaining the Imperial Peace; there was no Imperial system of Taxation or Administration; while, to crown all, the feudal class-divisions were as markedly distinct in Germany as they were blurred in Italy; and Princes, Knights, Towns, Peasantry were at almost constant strife one with another.

2. Germany.

The results were already in the Fifteenth Century being felt. The disorganisation within was—our Stephen's reign over again: the private wars amongst the nobles, the raids and tolls of each knight who had a stronghold, crippled alike the commerce of the towns and the agriculture of the peasants.† The weakness of Germany against foes within and without its formal limits had also been made manifest: it had been powerless to bring peace to Bohemia when torn with the Hussite wars of religion, to beat back the still vigorous national aggression of Magyars and Ottomans, and to keep the Swiss of High Germany and the Dutch and Belgian peoples of Low Germany from acting entirely on their own account; and it had permitted the outlying German

* *Supplementary.* Macaulay's *Essay on Machiavelli* gives an interesting account of Italian politics and strategics in the Fifteenth Century; Freeman, in the second series of his *Historical Essays*, works out the analogy with ancient Greece; George Eliot's novel *Romola* deals with Florence at the epoch of the French Invasion, 1494. The territorial distribution of Italy at this time is amply treated in Freeman's *Historical Geography*, ch. viii. § 3, pp. 245-253; that of Germany, in § 1 of the same chapter.

† Miss Charlotte Yonge's novel *The Dove in the Eagle's Nest* admirably portrays the political and social unrest of the Empire in the time of Frederick III.

(but not Imperial) conquest of Prussia to fall beneath the sway of the Poles, who had once been Imperial tributaries.

The Imperial Idea *v.* Territorialism.

The serious efforts at Imperial reform which were made by the Diet during the reign of Maximilian (1493—1519) were at once as hopeful and as fruitless as the similar attempts at Catholic reform had been at the beginning of the century (§ 6, p. 10). An Administrative Council of the Empire (*Reichsregiment*), and an Imperial Chamber of Justice (*Kammergericht*), were constructed and started, but could not be made to go; and the division of the Empire into "Circles" (*Kreise*) for purposes of taxation, military levies, and police was of none effect. Thus what may be called the Conciliar Movement in the Empire to ensure the cohesion and regularity of existing institutions and to establish such new ones as should be requisite for the maintenance of peace, unity, and concord failed as the Conciliar Movement in the Church had failed, and for the selfsame cause: the interests of Head and Members had become too complicated and diverse to be reconciled by compromise, and neither party had the force to compel a settlement. Maximilian I. made two titular innovations which seemed to promise a really national policy: by styling himself "Emperor-elect" (1508) without waiting for the coronation at Rome thitherto deemed essential to transmute a "King of the Romans" into an Emperor, he appeared to be shaking himself free from Papal trammels; by formally calling himself "King of Germany" he appeared to announce an intention of shelving the old shadowy ideal of Imperialism for the new possible ideal of Nationalism. Wittingly or unwittingly, however, he turned his back on both in favour of the immediate advantages of Territorialism; and thus, representative of German unity as he was, set the example of what amounted to partition. The disunion of Germany—perhaps best realisable by looking at a complete historical map—was intensified, not only by this family policy of its rulers (§ 11), but also by the great religious revolution of the Sixteenth Century (§§ 21, 27).

§ 10. Not less important than the failure of these endeavours to weld the German nation into a German state,

were two other notable Fifteenth-Century aspirations connected with the Empire. First there was one in the West, and that failed. A branch of the French Royal House of Valois was in 1363 granted the *Duchy* of Burgundy, whose capital was Dijon. A few years later the Duke acquired by marriage the neighbouring *County* Palatine of Burgundy, or Franche-Comté (whose capital was Dole, and which belonged to the Empire), and the County of Flanders, a French fief lying across the Middle Scheldt. Thenceforth he and his three successors (Genealogical Table, p. 85), set themselves the task of adding to each of these two detached districts the adjoining lands; and herein, in part through their long alliance with England, they succeeded. They also tried to acquire the lands—Lorraine and Champagne—that connected their Burgundian and their Netherlandish territories, and thereby to weave these two heterogeneous clusters of French and Imperial fiefs into one compact kingdom, independent of both France and of the Empire, and reaching if possible southwards over the old *kingdom* of Burgundy to the Mediterranean Sea. In the Ninth Century there had been such a Middle Kingdom, called Lotharingia, whose name still survives in its shrunken remnant marked on our maps Lothringen or Lorraine; and from 1815 to 1830 there was some such a kingdom, called the Netherlands, which since 1830 has been divided into the kingdoms of Belgium and the Netherlands.

3. "The Middle Kingdom": Burgundy.

The modern form of this thousand-year-old idea was, in Freeman's words, "made possible through the growth of the power of the Burgundian Dukes of the House of Valois." And yet their attempt to set up such a kingdom in the Fifteenth Century failed when, early in January 1477, Charles the Rash fell at Nancy in Lorraine in battle with the Swiss, and left his sole heiress Mary and his lands to be scrambled for by his two feudal lords, Louis XI. of France and the Emperor Frederick III. The former obtained the Duchy of Burgundy and part of the Flemish borderlands: the latter married his son Maximilian to Mary.* On this marriage the entire political history of the Sixteenth

* Her story is told by G. P. R. James in his novel *Mary of Burgundy*; the story of the struggle between Charles the Rash and Louis the Stuble is chronicled by that

Century turns; and to it we shall constantly have to make reference in the course of our story (Tables, pp. 84-5).

4. The Border Monarchy: Austria.

§ 11. The other aspiration connected with the Empire was that conceived by the family to which the bulk of the Burgundian dominions fell. And just as the policy of the Valois Dukes was meant to cut off a slice from the West of the Empire, and in the long run succeeded, so has the policy of the Hapsburg Dukes resulted—though not so intended—after a process of four hundred years, which was not completed until after the Seven Weeks' War of 1866, in cutting off a slice from the East of the Empire, whose nominal heads they themselves were. Just as the Valois Dukes of Burgundy strove to lift themselves above the level of the other princely houses of France (exhibited in the Genealogical Table, p. 85), so did the Hapsburg Dukes of Austria deliberately set themselves to become something more than the other princely houses in Germany—for instance than the *Wittelsbachs* who were their neighbours in a Bavaria that covered very different ground from that kingdom of Bavaria which figures in our maps to-day, or than the *Wettins* who ruled in Saxony, or than the *Hohenzollerns* who had, besides other possessions, the Mark of Brandenburg, and who did not yet dream of becoming Kings of Prussia, still less German Emperors. Curiously enough, the Hapsburgs, who might have ruled over all Germany, set the example to these other princely houses of seeking power outside Germany; built up a dominion which early in the Seventeenth Century became recognised as something distinct from the Emperorship by the general name of "Austria"; and in our own day, after so many great changes, have been thrust out of Germany altogether.

Growth of the Hapsburg Family Estates.

The history of Europe for four centuries, and the map of Europe to-day, alike testify to the immense importance of the Hapsburg family policy of the Fifteenth Century. Frederick III. (1440—1493) and his son Maximilian found—to use a hackneyed

most delightful writer, Philippe de Commynes, and is the general subject of Scott's novels, *Quentin Durward* and *Anne of Geierstein*. The extremely complicated territorial relations and their changes are made perfectly clear in Freeman's *Historical Geography of Europe*, ch. viii., § 8, pp. 298–313; and the policy of Charles is expounded in the same writer's *Historical Essays*, vol. i., No. 11.

political phrase—that "their skin was nearer to them than their shirt": instead of trying to patch and darn that terribly ragged garment, the Empire, they preferred to keep their skin—*i.e.* their Hereditary Lands—whole and toughen it. Frederick III., who was so weak that he was in 1485 chivied from his own capital, Vienna, by the great Hungarian king, Matthias Corvinus, showed his confidence in the future of his house by devising the family motto A.E.I.O.U. (*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*), and in a quiet way laboured to secure for it the high destiny thereby signified: thus he raised his Duchy of Austria to the dignity and style of an Arch-duchy; did his best—and successfully—to arrange that the various contiguous lands in the possession of collateral branches of the house should be gathered together in the hands of his son; and, as we have seen (§ 10), married his son to the heiress of Burgundy. The result was even greater than Frederick had foreseen: further marriages and unexpected deaths (Table, p. 84) together combined to bring Spain and its belongings under the sway of one great-grandson, Charles V.; while to the other, Ferdinand I., owing to a marriage-treaty arranged by Maximilian in 1516 with Wladislas, King of Hungary and Bohemia, those semi-elective kingdoms fell in, when, within ten years of the arrangement, their short-lived Polish line of kings came to an end. If from the Burgundian marriage the immediate European importance of the house arose, it was from the union of the Austrian, Bohemian and Hungarian lands, almost permanently in the hands of one prince, that we have to-day on our maps the curious agglomeration known as the "Empire of Austria"* (§ 6, p. 9).

§ 12. The Fifteenth Century was the birth-time of the modern state; but so far we have seen only the miscarriages. The attempts, such as they were, to unify Italy and Germany failed outright; the attempt to create a Middle Kingdom

A Contrast between Central and Western Europe.

* Leger's *History of Austria* is the only handy modern manual in English. Freeman's *Historical Geography*, ch. viii., § 9, pp. 314-335, contains a handy account of the territorial growth of the Austrian power, and a few marks of its singularity. The vital thing is to remember that "Austria" is ambiguous: it may mean (1) the Duchy; (2) the entire dominions ruled over, under whatever title, by the chief Austrian Archduke—*e.g.* in the present day the whole Austro-Hungarian monarchy; (3) the non-Hungarian part thereof.

died with the last of its would-be creators; and the Hapsburg Monarchy which actually was put together, was long distracted by foreign connexions, and to this day remains as much a hotch-potch of peoples, nations, and languages as our Angevin Empire, and therefore without the organic unity that marks the modern state. It is interesting, but it is an abortion.

Quite different from the political lot of these countries in Mid-Europe, was that of the three countries on the central Atlantic sea-board, France, Spain, and England. The last-named demands for our purpose separate treatment (§§ 4, 14, 15, 28-30); and it will be more convenient to deal elsewhere with two other Western Powers whose being and doings affect England—Portugal in connexion with the Geographical Discoveries that usher in the new Era (§ 20), and Scotland as from time to time it is brought into contact with England (esp. ch. i, § 8). But France and Spain concern us in two aspects: they concern us because our chief international relations are with them; and they concern us because their constitutional development during the period upon which we are entering has so many points both of similarity and of contrast with our own.

5. France: some contrasts with Germany and England.

First let us take the genesis of France. For some centuries France had been, like Germany, a bundle of fiefs, loosely corded together by the bond of a light allegiance to a feudal head; and what was required in both countries was the transformation, as in England, of this feudal *suzerainty* into a national *sovereignty*. France started with an advantage over Germany in her rules regarding succession: to say nothing of the absence, during the Middle Ages at least, of Italian distractions, her king was hereditary not elective; and fiefs, instead of being infinitely divided amongst all the sons, went to the eldest son. By mutual intermarriages these fiefs became, as after Edward III.'s reign such fiefs did in England (§ 4), concentrated in few hands. As in England, that development tended to weaken the Crown by giving it powerful rivals in the holders of these accumulated fiefs. As in England, the kings tried to attach to themselves some of the power inplied in the

possession of these large estates: if the estates descended to a female, she was married to a member of the royal family; if they escheated to the Crown they were granted away to some member of that family. This proved to be a dangerous policy: Edward III. married one of his sons to the heiress of Lancaster, and her son Henry dethroned his cousin King Richard II.; and John of France granted the Duchy of Burgundy to a younger son, whose son all but dethroned *his* cousin King Charles VI. The lesson was thus taught not to grant away these huge territories, and in the latter part of the Fifteenth Century the kings of both England and France were growing fat on escheated lands. Therein lay the foundation of their power.

Territorial Expansion and Consolidation of France.

In France, however, the accretion had begun differently —in the winning back of the lands which had fallen beneath the sway of England. There were other effects of this war, as we shall have to see (§ 13): here it is enough to say that it was not till 1449 that Normandy, not till 1453 that the vast group of territories known as Acquitaine, became finally part of France as a political and not merely as a geographical unit. Four years later France planted her foot across the Rhone when the Dauphiny, which since 1343 had been an appanage of the French heir-apparent,* somewhat as Wales was of the English heir-apparent, was finally annexed to the Crown.

Then there came a reaction: the great feudatories saw their "liberty" threatened, and in 1465, from motives somewhat similar to those which impelled Warwick to bring about the Lancastrian Restoration of 1470-1, formed what was speciously styled the *Ligue du Bien Public* to check the growth of the Kingship. The ideas of the confederates on the "Common Weal" were well indicated in a saying of one of them: "*So dearly do I love the kingdom of France, that, instead of one king, I would have six!*" Like our own purely baronial coalitions it won a paper victory, and fell to pieces; and Louis XI., by dealing individually

* Called the *Dauphin*: hence the name by which this county of Vienne is generally known. For the way in which this district, Provence and other parts of the old *kingdom* of Burgundy (one of the kingdoms forming the Empire) became either French or Swiss, see Freeman's *Historical Geography*, ch. viii., § 5, pp. 266-276.

with the leaders, quietly recovered his ground, though he had to work without ceasing against the machinations of his powerful kinsman in Burgundy, and his brother Charles of Berry. Louis had the good fortune to outlive his rivals.

On the death of Charles the Rash in **1477**, he tried to secure his daughter Mary for the Dauphin, but, as we have seen (§ 11), she became the foundation of the European power of the Hapsburgs. Louis, however, won by conquest Artois and the Duchy of Burgundy, and thereby established the undoubted supremacy of his own dynasty in France; and France within the next fifteen years attained almost * her present geographical limits by these successive reversions to the Crown—Anjou and Maine, on the death of our Queen Margaret's father Réné in **1480**; Provence, by bequest in the following year; and finally in **1491**, Brittany, by a kind of forced marriage, with which we shall have to deal in its proper place (ch. i., § 6). Three years later France, which had seemed likely in the twenties of the century to be partitioned by England and Burgundy, proclaimed to the world that she had surmounted internal difficulties by plunging into the aggressive war for which her central position, her martial spirit, and a series of ambitious and generally able rulers well fitted her. Charles VIII.'s expedition of **1494**, which ushered in a long night for Italy, marked the dawn of the greatness of France.

6. Spain: some contrasts with France.

§ 13. Modern France then was built up by the re-union, in the hands of the Crown, of feudal divisions which, as divisions, had become a hindrance to national growth. Modern Spain, on the other hand, was a coalition, not a reunion—not of fiefs, but of kingdoms. Both France and Spain roughly represented nations—that is, their inhabitants belonged in the main to races which were more or less conscious of common nationality—and therein they greatly differed from the medley which the House of Burgundy unsuccessfully and the House of Austria successfully strove to bring under one rule. But whereas France had in Paris a real centre from which she

* *Almost*, for the Northern frontier was further south, the Eastern frontier was further west (*e.g.* the R. Saône, not the Jura Mt., formed the mid-eastern barrier), and the Savoy lands had not yet been acquired. Contrast the map at the beginning with a modern map.

gradually spread, Spain, like England, spread from several centres and consequently did not acquire a capital, till in the later Sixteenth Century Philip II. founded Madrid.

The Iberian Heptarchy.

The history of Spain during the Middle Ages has been happily described as "a crusade of seven centuries." Just as the kingdom of England was formed out of the slow and reluctant union of the Teutonic kingdoms, which gradually pushed back the Britons into the West, so the kingdom of Spain was formed out of the still more difficult union of the Gothic kingdoms, which, starting from the mountain strongholds of Asturias and the Pyrenees, gradually pushed before them, or overran and absorbed, the Muhammadan Saracens or Moors who had during the Eighth Century swept over Western Europe, as in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries their Ottoman co-religionists swept over Eastern Europe. Thus were formed the kingdoms of Portugal, Navarre, Castile, Leon, Catalonia, Valencia, and Aragon—in whose wars and combinations we see those of our own Heptarchic Period faithfully mirrored. Though the nature of the war wherein these had fought their way into existence made them stiff, unyielding, and prone to emphasise distinctions rather than points of resemblance, these had by the Fifteenth Century been amalgamated down to four—the kingdoms of Navarre, which bestrid the N. W. Pyrenees geographically and politically had affinities with both France and Spain (ch. ii., § 4); of Portugal, whose activity lay outside the Peninsula (§ 20); of Castile and Leon; and of Aragon.

Ferdinand and Isabella.

The marriage of Isabella, daughter and heiress of John II. of Castile, to Ferdinand, son and heir of John II. of Aragon, led, in 1479, to the union of the crowns on the heads of the couple, though not as yet—owing to national jealousies as stubborn as the long Anglo-Scottish antipathy—to the union of the kingdoms. Then these two proceeded to earn the title of "Catholic sovereigns" by undertaking the expulsion of the infidel from the Peninsula, and by this national war made Spain as distinctly *one*, as the national war against the Danes had made England one, and as the Hundred Years' War against the English had made France one. On January 2, 1492, the

capture of the town of Granada completed the conquest of the surviving Muhammadan kingdom, and marked the dramatic completion of the unification of Spain, though it was not till 1512, eight years after the death of his wise wife, when Ferdinand conquered Navarre and assumed the title "King"—not of Castile and Aragon but—"*of Spain*," that that consummation was achieved.

But before that date this new entity had made its *début* on the stage of Modern Europe. In 1492, the year of the conquest of Granada, Columbus, in the words of his epitaph, "gave a New World to Spain": and in 1500 Spain had begun her long struggle with France in Italy. This eastward extension of Spain was the outcome of old Aragonese claims in Naples: her westward extension was the work of Castile. It was Isabella who had the insight to encourage Columbus, and so brought on the day—

"When the far isles of the sea thrilled to the tread of Castile,
When every land under Heaven was flecked by the shade of her banner,
When every beam of the sun flashed on her conquering steel." *

The Methods of the New Monarchy.

§ 14. No less important, if we would understand the history of the Tudor Period, than the overcoming of the centrifugal tendencies of local communities and the formation of the modern State in France and in Spain, is the method whereby these huge areas were kept in hand and administered. The method has close analogies with the method that commended itself to the Tudor monarchs in our own country—which, we must not fail to remember (§ 4), had had a relapse into Feudalism. "England had long been territorially one: what she wanted was constitutional and governmental consistency." We have already illustrated the former part of this dictum of Bishop Stubbs: let us now take a brief general view of the means adopted in the three chief States of the West to secure "governmental consistency."

Feudalism in government meant wholesale delegation of the various functions of government to the great landowners

* Col. John Hay's poem called "The Surrender of Spain"—one of his *Wanderlieder*. The works of another American writer, W. H. Prescott, deal in a complete and interesting manner with the main features of this story: *Ferdinand and Isabella*, the *Conquest of Mexico*, and the *Conquest of Peru*.

—whether the nobles who individually held large estates or the burgesses or citizens that collectively formed the corporation or commune in the towns—who could not easily be controlled or brought to book. The essence of the new rule was the resumption of these powers and the exercise of them henceforth not by magnates or corporations but by officials under the eye of the King: this is the "New Monarchy" that came into being in the Fifteenth Century. In each of these newly compacted kingdoms, the kings were able to put down the Nobility with the help of the Towns, and then, with the wealth and strength thus acquired, either to purchase or seize control of the Towns and the Churches. The result was pithily expressed in a witty contrast by Maximilian: "The Emperor is indeed a king of *kings*, for no one feels bound to obey him; and the King of Spain is a king of *men*, for, though resisted, he is still obeyed; but the King of France is a king of *beasts*, for him none dare gainsay."

1. Justice.

The judicial powers, which had, to a great extent, been either actually in the hands, or practically under the thumb, of the great nobles, are entrusted to central bodies of lawyers having interests too different from the nobles to be prejudiced in their favour, and too great power to be bullied by them. Thus the royal *Parlements* of France are strengthened and multiplied something after the fashion of our Angevin *Curia Regis* (§ 2); in Spain a powerful *Inquisition* is set up which is not to be regarded as solely an ecclesiastical body because it is called "Holy," and because it suppressed the Jews and heretics as well as the nobles; and in England the judicial powers of the Privy Council are revived and widely exercised in the form of the Star Chamber. All of these bodies are inclined—though not in each country or always to the same extent—to strain a point in support of the Crown.

2. Administration and Legislation.

In England and Spain these new royal judicial bodies are closely bound up with the general administration: in fact the whole powers, not only of administering the laws but also of punishing their infraction and even of formulating if not actually enacting these laws, fall into the hands of a council or group of councils wherein the moving spirit is the King. In

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France the *Parlements*, whose original function is the execution of the laws, become the proper place for the promulgation and registration of the royal edicts, and so acquire a voice in law-making.

3. Taxation.

The actual, and not merely the nominal, government of these three states of the West is thus gathered into the hand of the Kings in Council. But where do they get the money? In all three states there had grown up the custom, when the expenses of government began to exceed the king's personal and feudal income, to obtain grants of money from National Assemblies—the Parliament in England, the States-General in France, the Cortes in the various kingdoms of Spain. In each of these countries it had come to be more or less understood—we must not however press normal constitutional practice into indefeasible constitutional law—that these bodies might bargain for a *quid pro quo* before making these grants, and that without the assent of the payers, given through their representatives in those bodies, taxation ought not to be exacted. In each country the New Monarchy finds means of evading this possible check on its power: in England, the kings become wealthy enough to be independent of their Parliament, and thus are enabled, as we shall see over and over again, either to do without it or to use it for their own purposes; in Spain, after the crushing of the great Rising of the Communidades in the years 1520—1522, the different Cortes let go the practice—for which our Parliament has to struggle so hard against the Stuarts—of getting redress for grievances granted before the voting of supplies, and so sink to merely formal assemblies; and in France, the Estates-General are punished for showing in 1484 too great consciousness of their legislative and taxative powers by being practically dropped out of the Constitution. In fact the towns, which formed the chief money-granting element in these National Councils, are for the most part content with the security for trade which followed the suppression of the great nobles, and attach a greater value to the material welfare which they derive from a government which was to all intents and purposes a despotic government than to the less tangible advantages of

keeping institutions in which we, looking backward, can see the promising germs of constitutional government.

4. The Church.

§ 15. Lastly, the supremacy of the New Monarchy over the kingdoms which it had built up is completed by the acquisition of the control of the Church—the powerful organisation which was at that time entirely in the hands of the spiritual estate that had precedence above both the Nobility and the Commons, *viz.* the Clergy. It cannot be too strongly insisted upon that this State control over the Church is, in its origin, quite independent of, however much, in its later developments, it may be mixed up with, that religious and ecclesiastical movement of the Sixteenth Century which is called the Reformation.

Of this aspect of the New Monarchy in England it will be convenient to treat later (§ 29): here it must suffice to indicate one or two leading points of resemblance and difference between the three states of the West. In England, the King acquires full control of the Church, with the help of the Clergy themselves and in dead antagonism to the Papacy (ch. iii.); in France, the king uses alternately the Papacy itself and the Gallican Church to secure that control; and in Spain, whose political unity was the immediate outcome of its long religious warfare, there is very little friction, and it is with the full consent both of the Spanish Clergy and of the Papacy that the monarchy obtains its effective control over the Church. Thus the Catholic sovereigns obtain the recognition of their right to appoint to vacant benefices; annex to the Crown the grand-masterships of the three powerful military orders of Alcantara, Calatrava and Sant' Iago (S. James); constitute the semi-political Office of the Holy Inquisition in 1483, and keep a firm hold over both its composition and working; induce the Clergy to grant at times as much as one-third of their incomes by way of taxation; and, besides all this, secure Papal Bulls conceding that all business between Rome and New Spain shall pass through the Council of the Indies that is set up in 1511. In France, as in England, the Crown rather plays off the National Church against the Papacy, and ultimately, by the Concordat of Bologna of 1516, secures from the latter the recognition of its claims to patronage

and to a definite control over ecclesiastical appeals and disciplinary sentences. All these points have, as we shall see (ch. iii.), close analogies in England. The important things to bear in mind about them are these three: that though

(*a*) they are in no country either novel or the result of the Reformation, yet

(*b*) they testify to the temporary waning of the fulness of the Catholic idea of world-unity; and further that

(*c*) this control of the Church by no means implies that assumption of spiritual authority by the State which is called Erastianism.

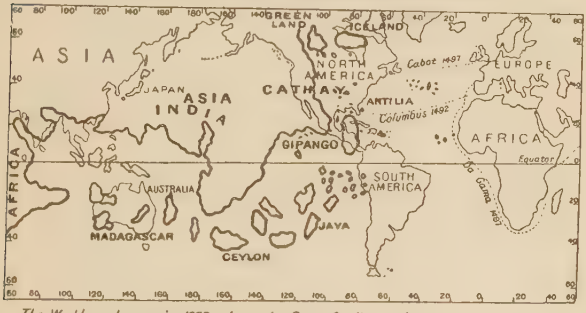
Mediaeval to Modern Europe.

§ 16. The control of the Church was necessary to the rounding off of the National system which everywhere in the Fifteenth Century was springing up to the weakening, sometimes even to the supplanting, of the Imperial system of which the Empire was a vestige. That National system, whose great characteristics have been outlined in the last nine sections, was the distinctive feature which marks the transition from Mediaeval to Modern Europe. Not that that transition is merely political: like all political changes it draws in its train, or rather bears within its bosom, many other changes that have their share in bringing about the familiar surroundings of our everyday life to-day. Some of these changes hardly concern the historian of the Tudor Period—notably the growth of what is called political freedom: the acquisition by every class of people of some part in the government of the nations, though a direct outcome of the national system, was at first, if anything, retarded by the action of the Kingship, which naturally enough—indeed one may say wisely—strove to keep in its own hand the direction of the states which it had called into being. Other equally distinctive marks of the modern era—the pregnant changes in men's conception both of religion and of the Church that in part caused, in part flowed from, the Reformation; the literary and social changes associated with the Revival of Letters; and the tangle of changes, of which perhaps the chief are the commercial, that eventually proceeded from the discovery of America—will be forever forcing themselves on our notice as we pass through the history of the Sixteenth Century.

Such transformations take time: an epoch cannot be so precisely dated as an event; but for convenience' sake each country has taken some crisis in its own history as that from which the new era commences. If one be wanted for Europe as a whole, the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, in **1453**, is adopted, because that event ended the Eastern Roman Empire and directly led to a momentous remodelling of the Western Empire and Church. The historian of modern France inevitably begins with the invasion of Italy in **1494**. The Spanish historian cannot but

Dramatic Dates of the Transformation.

THE IDEA of the WORLD in the time of COLUMBUS.



The World as known in 1892, shown in Faint Outline with names in Light Type.
The World as guessed in 1492, " " Bold Outline with names in Dark Type.

choose the year which witnessed the fall of Granada and the discovery of America—**1492**. The German historian may write *finis* to his Mediaeval volume either at the end or at the beginning of the reign of Maximilian—the Emperor who might have become indeed a German king, but preferred to be an Austrian prince—that is either at **1519** or at **1493**. So, too, the dividing line in English History is drawn either at the death or at the accession of Henry VII. —the King who wound-up the old and started the new concern—that is either in **1509** or in **1485**.*

* The transition touched upon in these nine sections may be further studied, not only in the books mentioned in previous notes for special points, but also in the

III. Survey of the Tudor Period, 1485—1603.—§ 17. Thus in the early part of the Sixteenth Century we find for the first time an organised European states-system, connected not so much by a conscious recognition of a common membership in Catholic Christendom as by a restless diplomacy that ever strives to maintain the Balance of Power, and having as its chief phenomena: a Papacy triumphant over the would-be limiters of its ecclesiastical authority but tending to corruption, seeking not the interests of Christendom but territorial power in Italy; a strong family in the newly-formed kingdom of Spain; such close ties between this family and the Dukes of Austria, that one youth, Charles, is presumptive heir to both houses (Table, p. 84). The Dukes of Austria hold not only their various home lands, but also the Burgundian inheritance—*i.e.*, the lands now called Franche-Comté, Alsace, and the Netherlands—and, after the great Turkish victory at Mohacz in 1526, the elective kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; whilst to the power thus given is superadded the still substantial dignity of the Empire. Beside these stand Kings of England, France, Scotland. Everywhere parliaments and councils have failed: we are in an age of enlightened despots, who encourage commerce and pursue their family interests. It is the last stage of the mediaeval Holy Catholic Church in its undivided splendour. Nor is that Church merely undivided: it is expanding. While its sole rival, the Orthodox Church, had received a severe blow in the capture of the new Rome by Muhammadans in 1453, its own children in the Iberian Peninsula had not only crushed Muhammadanism in Western Europe (§ 12) but were carrying their war between Cross and Crescent into Africa and Asia (§ 20).

The Political Forces of the Sixteenth Century.

following standard works: Hallam's *View of the State of Europe in the Middle Ages* (which, in a short compass, brings the story of Europe from the Wandering of the Nations down to the dates given in this paragraph); Mr. R. Lodge's *Modern Europe* (which admirably sums up the main features of the transition by way of introduction to a full clear sketch of European History from 1453 to 1878, and is thus not retrospective, like Hallam, but prospective); and Mr. Seebohm's *Era of the Protestant Revolution* (which reviews the Middle Ages with especial reference to the Sixteenth Century). Of the many broad contrasts between Mediaeval and Modern History we may mention two of Bp. Stubbs' *Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History*.

Charles V. *v.* Francis I., 1519—1547.

On the death of the Emperor Maximilian in **1519**, his grandson Charles, already lord of the Spanish possessions in Europe and the New World, entered both into the possession of his Austro-Burgundian inheritance and into that personal rivalry with Francis I. of France which started the still unended struggle between the representative of German unity and the *soi-disant* successors of Charlemagne. Their contest filled Germany, France, and Spain, was fought out first in Italy, later in the North-West of Europe, and was in various shapes throughout the century the one international problem for England; but to us it is of importance chiefly because of its connexion with the politico-religious revolution that was at hand (cf. ch. ii., §§ 9, 10).

The *Renascence.*

§ 18. This revolution, which for ever changed the mind of Europe, emphasizing the *individuality* first of the *state*, somewhat later of the *man*, at the expense of the old idea of the *authority* of united Christendom, is the resultant of two complex movements, separable in thought but much intermingled in fact, respectively called the Renascence and the Reformation. The former name gives a unity to the stirring of men's minds on discovering that the world was interesting in itself quite apart from its being the scene of their earthly probation, and that there were many things and men not dreamt of in their philosophy. The teaching of the Church, however systematic, seemed so narrow and arid to those who, especially after the dispersion of Greek scholars by the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in **1453**, were plunging into the refound treasures of Greek Literature, where nothing had to be taken on faith, but everything was debatable and debated! And Christendom, with its capital, Rome, which to the eye of many generations had been barely discernible, at a distance, from the true Eternal City, seemed so small, ill-centred a place when men came to grasp that "the Indies" discovered by Christopher Columbus on October 12,* **1492**, were in reality a New World!

* The date Oct. 21 was chosen as the day for keeping the Quatercentenary of the event in 1892, because of the change wrought by the Gregorian Calendar (1582: adopted in Great Britain 1751). On Oct. 21, 1892, the sun occupied approximately the same position in the heavens as it did on Oct. 12, 1492.

In the wake of this alteration of man's outlook on both the intellectual and the physical world, there came an almost vaster alteration in his outlook on the spiritual world—the Reformation. Before turning to consider each movement more specifically let us just see generally who was doing what. First, what was being done? Here the technical terms that sum up the two currents are highly significant. The initial syllable suggests that something was being done "again": or, to dwell on another meaning of the '*re*,' there was a "going back" to something. Both of these thoughts are true: men were turning back from their own little systems to the rock from which they had been hewn, to the pit whence they had been digged—to the Classics, to Nature, and to the Bible respectively—and quarrying thence yet other systems, meant, like the former systems, to be complete, unassailable, definitive, and destined, also like the former ones, to be found wanting—but none the less good and helpful for that. And that is just what the final syllable of the terms pretty clearly indicates: they express movements not arrivals, effective processes not final results.

The *Reformation.*

Secondly, who were the doers? The recovery of the thoughts and (almost more valuable) the methods of classical antiquity, and in a large measure the nautical skill which led to the extension of the known world, were the work of Italians, as the overhauling of the ecclesiastical system was that of Germans. In the Renascence and the Reformation Italy and Germany respectively make what was for long enough their last abiding contribution to the progress of the world and become as it were remnants for princes and politicians to snip into pieces and put and reput together in a kind of political patchwork.

§ 19. Every aspect of the Renascence has been summed up in Michelet's brilliant *aperçu*: "*the discovery of the world and the discovery of man.*" It is with the "discovery of man" that the section of it which is called the Revival of Letters is mostly concerned. The authorised view of man was that he was "that which has a soul to be saved": not only that, but saved in the way laid down by the Church. Every act and

The Renascence as "the Discovery of Man."

every thought which was not connected with that way was wasted, if not wicked; and so, properly enough, every act and every thought was directed by the Clergy who claimed, as God-given, both the monopoly of education and the guidance of the Church. The aim of Mediaeval Learning, like the aim of Mediaeval Politics, was to check the extravagance of individual fancy and the restlessness of individual will, and to establish unity, fixity, certainty; the watchword of Scholasticism, like that of Feudalism, had been order not progress; and, as has been happily said,* in speaking of S. Thomas Aquinas, Marsiglio of Padua, and William of Ockham, and the host of "the thought-worn chieftains of the human mind" who stud the Middle Ages, "Advance is measured less by the power with which men used their intellects than by the skill with which they used their materials." The result of this thought was a structure which exhausted the available supply of materials, but did not readily admit of extension. The architectonic science of the Church was the Theology which had been wondrously woven together from the Bible and Aristotle; and this was connected with a science of secular things known to us as the Scholastic Philosophy, and with a scheme of jurisprudence, the Canon Law. What the Church did not order, she forbade: what the Church did not know and teach, was not knowledge.

The Revival of Classical Learning.

The revival of classical study tended to make it hard to accept this system *en bloc*; for, like all codifications, it embodied the errors as well as the wisdom of the time of its formation. Men found different views of life put forth in the Pagan writers of Rome, views that looked very reasonable and pleasant; they found different ways of interpreting Scriptural texts in the early Christian writers; and consequently some began to ask whether the teaching sanctioned by the Church was after all unquestionably, absolutely, minutely, exhaustively true. This spirit of enquiry deepened when from old Latin writers men advanced to the more original Greek thinkers of Christian or Pagan antiquity; and this they were able to do as the knowledge of Greek—which for a thousand years had been almost an unknown tongue in Western Europe—was

* By Mr. R. L. Poole, in his *Illustrations of the History of Mediaevel Thought.*

spread abroad with the Greek scholars who poured forth from Constantinople during the last fifty years of its Turk-threatened existence.

The mental horizon of the educated suddenly widened: instead of being interested in Christendom only, and, within Christendom, only in things spiritual, they took for themselves the old motto of Terence: *Homo sum—humani nihil a me alienum puto.* But these "Humanists" did not everywhere follow the same lines.* The Italian Renascence was, above all things, a brilliant epoch in Literature and Art. Amongst its more famous patrons were, at Florence, Lorenzo de'Medici, who by his lavish support of the scholars that flocked around him earned in his own generation the title of "the Magnificent" and in the next the elevation of his house to be rulers in Florence, at Rome the Popes Nicholas V., the creator of the Vatican Library, and Leo X., the assiduous Art-Collector. Amongst its more illustrious workers stand out the names of the philologist Poggio, the Platonist Ficino, and the artists Raffaele, Michael Angelo, Lionardo da' Vinci and Benvenuto Cellini. In the domain of Art the Italians were creative: in that of Letters they undertook the humbler task of acquiring such a mastery of the language and methods of antiquity that others might profit by the thoughts that had thereby been laid open to them.

The Humanists in Italy and in Germany.

It was different in the North. True, into France art and artists were imported from Italy; but in Germany and England the New Learning soon began to occupy itself, not simply with academical questions of pure scholarship, but with the burning questions of the day—the reform of religious abuses, the remodelling of the educational curriculum and methods, and the improvement of the daily life of man. The movement which in Italy had produced in religion only a conforming scepticism, and in sociology no interest whatever, was turned to far other uses, when it crossed the Alps. The Hebrew researches of Johann Reuchlin, the almost simul-

* Perhaps the handiest survey of these different lines is that contained in Mr. J. A. Symonds' article on the RENAISSANCE in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Other easily accessible books are Burckhardt's *Renaissance in Italy*, and, for the contrast between the Italian and German Renascence, the second of Beard's *Lectures on the Reformation in Relation to Modern Thought* is invaluable.

taneous attempt of Erasmus, and Cardinal Ximenes, to supply a text of the New Testament in Greek, the social ideals put forth by Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, 1516, were scholarly indeed, but had an eminently practical bearing.

The Popularisation of Knowledge.

It was because of this, that writers in both Germany and England soon drifted out of the way of addressing themselves to their learned brethren all over Europe in Latin, the common language of the learned, and appealed rather to their own countrymen in their own language. This new turn given to the Nationism of which we have spoken above (§ 7) was rendered possible by the invention of the printing-press.* That invention, which came into practical use about the middle of the Fifteenth Century, combined with the discovery about a century before of a process whereby paper could be made from linen-rags, made the extensive multiplication and wider circulation of books infinitely easier and cheaper than it had been when the only method of reproducing books had been the slow process of hand-copying on costly parchment. Learning, hitherto the vocation of the few, became the avocation of the many; and the disclosure of the processes of thought instead of merely its results, by inviting people to think, enlarged the sphere of individuality. It is not contended that writing in the vernacular was a novelty—Dante and Petrarch, Wyclif and Chaucer, alone disprove that—any more than that classical learning was a novelty in the Fifteenth Century—the galaxy of *littérateurs* at the court of our

* The early stages in the development of printing are commonly reputed to be four in number: (1) taking off impressions from figures engraved on wood (especially playing-cards); (2) the application of this method of reproduction to words, the letters being cut by hand on a block of wood or metal; (3) the use of movable types, *i.e.* of letters not whole words, cast in a fount (whereof John Gutenberg of Mainz seems to have been the inventor); and (4) the use of a punch to form the letter on the matrix from which the type was cast (Peter Schöffer). The first book of any note to be printed from movable types was the *Mazarin Bible*, issued about 1455 from the press which the purse of John Fust, goldsmith, and the brains of Gutenberg and Schöffer had jointly established at Mainz. The capture and sack of that city by its Archbishop in 1462 dispersed the workmen and with them their secret. The invention was quickly taken up in the Netherlands and Italy, where by 1485 thirty towns had presses, and where it was carried to a high degree of perfection by Aldus at Venice (1494—1515). William Caxton, who had learnt the art either with Colard Manson at Bruges or with Conrad Winters at Cologne, and who had printed several English books in those towns, came over to England and set up his press in the sanctuary at Westminster in 1476.

Henry II. alone disprove *that*: what we have to insist on is the widening and deepening of the stream of knowledge. How this stream became a deluge in the Sixteenth Century, and especially how in our own country it overflowed into the flood of Elizabethan Literature, is told in the companion work, *The Intermediate Text-Book of English Literature*, vol. I.

The Renascence as "the Discovery of the World."

§ 20. Michelet's text above quoted (p. 30) describes a widening of man's conception of the world which appropriately accompanied the widening of his conception of himself. No one can really explain why these two movements happened to come to a head at the same time; but one may safely say that just as the scientific invention lately mentioned made possible the breaking down of the barriers that once protected but now hemmed in the Mediaeval intellectual world, so scientific advances, especially in Astronomy and the Art of Navigation, made possible the breaking down of the barriers that hedged in the Mediaeval physical world. How limited and distorted men's knowledge of the world was at the end of the Fifteenth Century may be partly gathered from the map on p. 27. But at the beginning of that century the positive geographical knowledge of Europe was confined to Europe and the countries round the Mediterranean Sea. Asia was known only by hearsay and by the report of some few adventurous overland travellers like Marco Polo. The western coast of Africa was known only so far south as Cape Bojador, beyond which sea-monsters, intense heat, and whirlpools made it impossible to advance. The existence of a Western Continent was unsuspected. The Atlantic was to the men of that generation as much "the Sea of Darkness," as Africa was to us, till the seventies of the Nineteenth Century, "the Dark Continent." Naturally men's guesses about a world so little known were wide of the mark; the earth was by the masses supposed to be a flat surface inhabitable on the upper side only; and, even by such learned geographers as Martin Behaim, whose notion of the world we reproduce above, it was thought much smaller than it really was.

Portugal, the Pioneer to the East.

It was the Crusading spirit of the Iberian Peninsula, which first sought to find a way out of this ignorance, and thereby became, in the course of a century, superseded by the spirit of Commerce. In 1415 Portugal, being shut out by the kingdom of Castile (§ 13) from further expansion within the Peninsula, pursued the Moorish enemy across the Strait, and took Ceuta. Thereafter a Portuguese prince, Henry—whose mother's father was our English "John of Gaunt, time-honoured Lancaster"—devoted himself to exploring the coast of Africa, and from his home at Sagres directed the expeditions which have won for him the surname of "the Navigator." The slow but steady progress made is shown by the world-map placed at the beginning of our eleventh chapter; by the time of Henry's death the Gambia had been reached; and in 1486 Bartholomew Diaz, one of a family with a hereditary genius for discovery, was blown round what he called "the Cape of Storms," but what his king re-named "the Cape of Good Hope." The "good hope" was that of finding a way to India by sea; and that good hope was at length realised when, after a voyage of over ten months, Vasco da Gama, on May 11, 1498, reached Kálikat, on the Malabar coast of Hindustán, and so made possible that brief but brilliant Portuguese Empire in India whose heroes were so diverse as Alfonso Albuquerque * and S. Francis Xavier.

Castile, the Pioneer to the West.

The supposed wealth of India had, some years before da Gama's adventurous voyage, drawn a neighbour of Portugal into the quest of a practicable route thither, and the quest had seemingly been crowned with success. Christopher Columbus, one of the many scientific navigators whom Italy furnished to help the enterprise of Western nations, got into his head the notion that, as the earth was round, it would be possible to reach India by sailing due west instead of labouring round Africa. The kings of Portugal and England are said to have declined to entertain so foolish a proposal: when he

* His life has been written for the "Rulers of India Series" by Mr. Morse Stephens, whose *Portugal*, in the "Story of the Nations Series," contains the handiest detailed account of Portuguese maritime enterprise.

reached the edge of the world he would tumble over, and where would he be then? Ultimately, it was from Queen Isabella of Castile that Columbus obtained the means for his expedition, and sailing from the little fishing village of Palos, near Cadiz, on August 3, 1492, with three tiny ships and a crew of "muttering shoalbrains," set foot some two months later on an island which he called San Salvador, and which is probably that one of the Bahamas which is now known as Watling Island. The present name of this entire mass of islands, the "West Indies," still reminds us that Columbus thought he had reached India; and though he made several other voyages, it was not till after his death that it dawned upon men that the lands which he discovered, and which bear the name of one of his biscuit-contractors, were a New World. But if he discovered a New World, he did not discover a practicable westerly all-sea route to the East. That dream provoked half the great Sixteenth-Century voyages; it remained unfulfilled, because either the Americas or frozen seas block the way; and, in a changed form, it is now awaiting its accomplishment in the completion of either the Panama, or the Nicaragua or some other Inter-oceanic Canal. On the other hand, the Portuguese not only found an all-sea route to India, but also independently discovered the mainland of South America, when in 1500 Alvarez Cabral was blown out of his course to India westwards to the Brazils. The discovery of the mainland of North America was achieved under English auspices by two Italians, father and son, named John and Sebastian Cabot. This was in the year of Vasco da Gama's start, 1497 (ch. i., § 14).

Some Effects of the New World on the Old.

How powerfully these discoveries—books concerning which, More tells us, "were in every man's hand"—affected men's imagination, it is difficult to conceive; how they were followed up by yet other voyages in which Englishmen took great part is shown briefly and barely in the table at the commencement of Chapter xi.; how they not only widened men's outlook on the world but also permanently changed the direction of that outlook we must here consider in few. At the beginning of the Tudor Period Italy is the centre of everything, ecclesiastical and secular alike; and France, Spain, even

England, proclaim their intention of making a stir in the world by rushing into Italy. The Sixteenth Century witnesses the gradual transfer both of interest and of importance from the Mediterranean seaboard to the Atlantic seaboard. Of this notable change there are many causes, but the greatest of these is undoubtedly the maritime discoveries above described. Hitherto Italy has had her prestige not only winged with Classic and Catholic traditions, but also weighted with the material advantage of a trade-monopoly with the East: Venice *viâ* Egypt and the Red Sea, Genoa *viâ* Constantinople and the Black Sea, have obtained from Arab traders the silk, spices, and jewels of the Indies, and distributed them at enormous profit over Western Europe. *Now*, almost at the very moment when the Genoese route is entirely destroyed by the acquisition of both sides of the Bosphorus by the Ottoman Turks (1453), and the Venetian route is half ruined by the Turkish conquest of Egypt (1516) and by the scouring of the Levant by Turkish corsairs, a new all-sea route is opened up which, if longer, is neither exposed to human as well as natural obstacles, nor rendered expensive by the intervention of land-carriage and consequent breaks of bulk. Little wonder then that the traffic hitherto conveyed over the Southern inland seas to Italy, and thence despatched across Europe to the Hansa traders who commanded the Northern inland seas, passed almost without a struggle into the hands of the Powers who commanded the all-ocean routes: in the words of the writers of Universal History, Commerce and Civilisation emerge from the "Thalassic" stage and enter upon the "Oceanic" stage wherein they still abide.

Portugal, Spain, and England on the Sea.

Rightly enough Spain and Portugal at first reap the rewards of their enterprise, by gathering in wealth, the one from the mines of America, the other from the trade of the East. In 1493 these Powers, with the assistance of Pope Alexander VI., amicably divide the New World: in 1580 that division is compulsorily undone by the subjection of Portugal for sixty years beneath the might of Spain. But before that time, England and Holland, through their religious hostility to Spain, the owner, and to the Pope, the *soi-disant* donor of

the New World, have entered upon their career as Maritime Powers and competitors for Trans-oceanic trade. In Elizabeth's reign, as we shall see in a later chapter (Ch. xi.), Englishmen are everywhere disputing the commercial monopoly of the Iberian states: still to adopt a phrase from the author of *Greater Britain* though English influence begins to saturate the seas, it has not yet succeeded in depositing itself, by way of settlement, on their margin.*

Very great importance of the Reformation

§ 21. The Reformation calls for a fuller analysis here than does either aspect of the Renascence, not only because it is intrinsically more important, and because it has been found susceptible of more varied treatment than almost any fact of the world's history, but also because it is quite inextricably woven into the main strand of our narrative. Whatever else the Sixteenth Century may be, it is before all things "the period of the Reformation", and the story of England under the Tudors cannot even be intelligently followed, still less appreciated in its bearing on our life to-day, without some general grasp of the movement, not only as it affected England, but as it affected Europe. The exceeding great complexity of the causes which produced it, of the circumstances which moulded it, and of the immediate and enduring results that it evolved, is heightened by the fact that it has not yet passed out of the sphere of hot partisanship. By habit, by temperament, or by conviction, every man, whether Christian or no, is more or less committed to some judgment, or at least sentiment, on the matter:† the first need, therefore, in approaching the subject, is to be on guard against permitting bias to run into prejudice.

* Professor Seeley's fourth Course in the First Series of his *Expansion of England* is a masterly summary of "The Effect of the New World upon the Old." Mr. Payne's *European Colonies* and Mr. Calderon's *Early Discoveries and Progress* are [illegible] and [illegible] treatises on the subjects dowered by their titles. The general course of the Maritime Discoveries is treated in a popular manner in Mr. Clements Markham's *Sea Fathers*; the same writer's *Life of Columbus* is free from the [illegible] which have gathered round his history. The subject of Columbus has been recently handled by poets amongst others Lowell and Tennyson.

† Some books stand out from the mass of literature on this subject for a combination of the qualities of impartiality, lucidity, brevity, and cheapness; for the history of the whole movement, the English translation of Hausser's *Period of the Reformation*; and for an estimate of the effects of the Reformation, the late Charles Beard's Hibbert Lectures entitled *The Reformation: its Nature and Its Modern Thought and Knowledge* (Williams & Norgate, 4s. 6d.).

"Reformers before the Reformation."

The Reformation no more began with the advent of Luther than the Renascence did with the fall of Constantinople or Ceuta. Long before Luther, as we have seen (§ 6), men had grieved over the evil state of what they fain would have seen to be, and not merely believed to be, the *Holy* Catholic Church, and many had been the attempts at amendment. These "Reformers before the Reformation" have been arranged in three groups. There had been the *Catholic* reformers, both monastic revivalists, like S. Bernard, S. Francis of Assisi, S. Dominic, and men who, like Gerson and the Gallicans, sought by means of General Councils to "reform the Church in Head and Members": these mostly thought that a change in the mechanism of government would cure all; but owing to the disagreement amongst the doctors, neither the therapeutic remedy, which was reform of morals, nor the surgical remedy, which was extirpation of heresy, had healed the sick Body. Then there had been *Mystics*, like Thomas à Kempis, or whoever it was that wrote *Imitatio Christi*, and John Tauler, the author of *Theologia Germanica* (both of the fifteenth century)—men who, in Beard's phrase, "sought truth and purity in withdrawal from the outer courts of creed and ritual into the inner chambers of contemplation." Finally, there had been what have been styled *Biblical* reformers, who found the root of the evil not merely in the government, but, to a greater or less extent, in the creeds and in the priest-worked system of Church discipline: the Waldenses in the hill-region between Mont Cenis and Lyons, John Wyclif in England, his disciple John Hus in Bohemia, Savonarola in Florence, and even the little band of Oxford Reformers whom we shall see working at Oxford in Henry VII.'s reign (ch. ii., §§ 1, 2), had all thought the abuses of the Church sprung from the over-elaboration of her system by overlaying God's simple revelation with human devices, and advocated a "return to the Bible," or at least a return to the "Primitive Church." Some of these had, consequently, drifted apart from the Church, some remained discontented members of the Church, but all are (despite their differences) precursors of Luther and the other Sixteenth-Century Reformers.

Causes of the Reformation.

Reform had been so long in the air that it seemed almost hopeless to those who wished for it, almost a harmless fad to those who had reason to fear it. When, in 1517, Pope Leo X. heard that an Austin friar named Martin Luther had nailed Ninety-five Propositions against Indulgences to the door of a church in the Saxon University town of Wittenberg, and that the Dominican friars were very angry about it, the whole thing seemed a joke—"friars wrangling as usual," he remarked. Leo made a great mistake: men's minds were at length ripe for change. Some men were crying out for a purer, simpler, more spiritual religion, with less enforcement of external acts and more inward transformation; laymen were weary of the dominance of the clergy as a privileged caste, especially as they seemed little inclined to act up to their official position; Germans had had enough of a Latin Church worked by an Italian head and foreign priests; thanks largely to the growing sense of nationality, both clergy and rulers in many countries were feeling more and more the inconvenience of submission to a distant potentate who expected them to satisfy his material wants but seemingly took small pains to know or meet their ghostly needs; and, to crown all, this secularised Papacy had been filled by a series of pontiffs whose venality, nepotism, worldliness of aim, and disregard, not to say defiance, not merely of the conventions of their office but even of the most rudimentary moral laws, were flaunted in the face of a shocked Christendom.

The Nature of the Reformation.

§ 22. The Reformation which sprang from such a medley of causes—spiritual, moral, intellectual and political—assumed naturally enough a multitude of shapes in different places. The movement did not always begin with the same motive; its promoters were in some cases, as in Germany, literary men; in others, as in England, the ruler; in others, as in Switzerland, Scotland, and the Scandinavian kingdoms, the laity generally; in others, mainly in Southern Europe, the clergy; and the results have been almost infinitely various. Still beneath all this diversity of expression there lay an essential unity of spirit: the Reformation was an attempt to lift

religion out of mere convention, to make it real. The Church, like the Scholastic learning with which it was so closely bound up, had congealed into a compact mass of forms and interests—a system which, like all human systems, rather tended to assume that the fact of its existence proved its divine right to continued existence: it was suffering, as all human or semi-human institutions must suffer, from the very elaboration of its mechanism. Outwardly *complete*, the Church inevitably tended to regard itself as being inwardly *perfect*: its hierarchy, being divinely instituted, was apt to lose sight of the faults of its actual working; its doctrine, being divinely inspired, claimed acceptance whether or no it was understood (so far as it was capable of intellectual apprehension) and really believed to be true; its sacraments were esteemed efficacious of themselves; the acts prescribed by its penitentiary system were taken to be of themselves efficient. In other words, the emphasis which had been for centuries laid on the objective side of religion had resulted, not indeed in abandoning, but in unduly depressing, the subjective side of religion: the clergy had forgotten their spiritual duties in their ecclesiastical privileges; orthodoxy had been set above truth; forms had survived the faith which had once found a full and loving expression in them; the external penances exacted by the Church were treated as a substitute for, rather than the embodiment of, repentance for sin. One common point in the Reformation was its stress on subjectivity—its insistence on the need of active feeling and personal conviction in religion, whether it found its channel in the existing Church, as did the Council of Trent, or in a modification of that Church, as did Luther and the German Protestants, or in an entirely new Church, as did Zwingli, Calvin, and the Swiss Reformers.

The Bases of Protestantism: the Bible *v.* the Church.

If all the Reformers, Catholic as well as Protestant, had a common aim, much more had all Protestant Reformers a common method. It was the inertness of the Church as a corporate body—left a prey to the jealousy between its Head and its Members, each ready to reform the other, neither ready to reform itself—that forced volunteers to the front. It

is difficult for us in these days, when any body may say any thing, to realise the presumption of private men challenging the wisdom, truth, and goodness of opinions and practices consecrated by the collective consciousness of many generations of Christians. The challenge was not quite new: it had been the natural resource of all who had despaired of reformation *ab intra*. The keynotes of the old and the new religious ideas were struck a century before during the Council of Basel, when, in answer to a cardinal's *Crede!* a Hussite responded *Proba!* It was in that bold watchword that Protestantism found at once its common point and its chief contribution to the world's history: when it appealed from the tradition of the Church to the conscience of the man, from the dogma which it called "the ordinances of man" to the Bible which it called "the Word of God," it was in reality unconsciously appealing from Authority to Reason. Maybe Reason has trespassed beyond her sphere, as the Church had trespassed beyond her sphere; but it is only by setting two such forces in opposition for a period that men can ultimately hope to learn how to harmonise them.

§ 23. The attempt to clear away the abuses which had gathered round and penetrated into the Catholic Church was so long obstructed—partly through blindness, partly through the ruinous conservatism which dreads "the thin edge of the wedge,"—by those who had the direction of affairs, that the movement which had aimed at Reform passed into Revolution. That Revolution took various forms. Luther found that his original appeal against ecclesiastical abuses failed to influence those in authority, and was thus carried further than he had meant to go. By 1520, he had not only drifted into an attack on Catholic doctrine, but by burning the Bull of Excommunication he defied the Pope. Protected by the Saxon Elector, Frederick the Wise, against both Pope and Emperor, he went on agitating for reform, and gathered eager students of all nations round him at Wittenberg. He gradually selected certain distinctive notes of teaching, being for the most part such points of the old doctrine as especially attracted him and seemed to him capable of proof from the Pauline

Schools of the Reformation: 1. Lutheranism.

Epistles and the Gospel of S. John, and to these he naturally gave a new prominence and grouping. The keystone of his dogmatic arch was Justification by Faith only, and with this was closely associated the priesthood, not merely of those ordained thereunto by a divine Episcopate, but of every baptised Christian : both doctrines alike implied the free access of each soul to God without the intervention of the set means of the Church, and were readily elicited from his favourite parts of Scripture. From a literal interpretation (the only kind he would allow) of the same writings he drew his sacramental theory called Consubstantiation (p. 153 *n.*), and his subordination of the pastorate to the lay power—*i.e.*, in the countries to which his ideas made their way, to the prince. In **1529** his followers protested against an Imperial decree issued by a Diet at Spires against religious innovations, and so earned the name of *Protestants* —which is nowadays generally extended so as to cover all those who withdrew from the Roman Communion in the Sixteenth Century. In **1541** the last chance of compromise with Catholicism failed with the collapse of Cardinal Contarini's mission to Ratisbon. In **1547** Luther died ; and his work was continued, and his theology hardened into a dogmatic system, by his friend Philip Melancthon.

2. Calvinism.

A forward party usually subdivides infinitely, because men who agree in not liking, or in determining not to have, one thing, naturally enough fall out on the question what to put in its place. So it was here. Besides the Reformers who followed Luther there grew up rival, even hostile, schools of Reformers in South Germany, or as we should call it nowadays, Switzerland. The chief of these were Ulric Zwingli, who had great influence at Zurich from **1519** till his death in some inter-cantonal fighting at Kappel in **1531**, and John Chauvin or Calvin, a Frenchman who practically ruled the Free City of Geneva, from **1541** till his death in **1564**. The "Swiss" Reformers were willing to work with the "Saxon" Reformers; but when they made overtures in a Conference at Marburg in **1529**, they were sent about their business for heterodox notions on the Lord's Supper (which they considered to be a merely commemorative feast), and on the interpretation of Scripture.

However, going on their own lines, they elaborated a severely logical system of doctrine and a logically severe system of discipline which have had an enormous influence over Europe. The Swiss movement, which is known in its final form as Calvinism, differed from Lutheranism so deeply that the adherents of the systems would hardly combine against Rome. It was a radical movement: on its doctrinal side, it did not, as the conservative movement further north had done, simply accept so much of the existing systems as it could make to square with the Bible, but started afresh with the Omnipotence of God as a basis; on the political and social side (to which it paid more attention than the Lutherans), it took its ideas, after the fashion of all religious revivals, from its surroundings, and became democratic—not the prince but the whole community was its final authority. The "congregation" was at once Church and State, and consequently did not shrink from punishing heresy as rebellion.

3. Neo-Catholicism.

There were other Protestant movements of all kinds which, seeming at the time to lead to social and religious anarchy, were roughly put down wherever possible even by their more "orthodox" fellow Protestants. Their existence ultimately stirred the Roman Church to something more than desultory attempts at repression; but, in the meanwhile, golden opportunities for reconciliation had been allowed to slip by, and when, at length, in 1545, Pope Paul III. summoned a Council at Trent on the Adige to put things straight, party-lines had so divided men that none but the adherents of the old order attended, and they, under the leadership of the new organisation which sprang up to save the Papacy—the Society of Jesus—settled the chief points at issue in a conservative or even reactionary spirit.

The Development of National Churches.

§ 24. Half the religious zeal which might have been used—like that which expressed itself in the formation of the Orders of Friars in the Thirteenth Century—in strengthening and purifying the Catholic Church spent itself in building up new theological sects and new ecclesiastical systems. It might be almost true to say that Christendom ceased, and instead of the

one great theocracy, of which the kingdoms had been consciously only parts, there were now *many* theocracies. Each of the mediaeval kingdoms had had its triangular duel of Church, Pope, and King (§ 29). Hitherto some *modus vivendi* had been found possible: hereafter we find some members of Western Christendom holding fast more than ever to the idea that the unity of the Church can be maintained only by obedience to a universal bishop, while others

discard the notion of *One* Visible Church altogether, and develop the new-old notion of *National* Churches.

The ultimate division of Catholic Christendom.

A glance at the map will not only show, at least roughly, what parts of Europe joined in the revolt from Rome but also indicate both how the parts which split off from Rome further divided also against one another, and that the line of division was by no means quite the foregone conclusion we are apt to imagine it to be. Still what has so far proved to be the final line of cleavage,

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marked out in the Peace of Westfalia, 1648, was not wholly arbitrary. The religious division of Western Christendom unconsciously followed very closely the lines of racial distinction which modern Anthropology, looking to physiological as well as to linguistic and historical data, has drawn out so elaborately. The round-headed peoples of the South and East, Keltic and Slavonic, adhered for the most part to Rome; the long-headed peoples of the North, Teutonic and Scandinavian, became Protestant; while Englishmen who in race hover between these two groups, retained their intermediate position in religion, which retains its ancient name of "Anglican." On the whole, therefore, just as Christendom had earlier divided into East and West, Greek and Latin, so Catholic Christendom was in the religious schism of the Sixteenth Century further divided into North and South, Teutonic and Latin.

§ 25. There are three main ways of looking at this phase of that "Life of the World which is the sum of petty lives." First there is the *Catholic* view, which—regarding Christianity as a God-designed organisation for placing man in communion with God by means of sacraments valid only if administered by priests having divine powers transmitted to them, by the laying on of hands, from the days of the Apostles—can see, in the denial of that conception, nothing but heresy, and in withdrawing from the Church, the sole and perpetual mediator between earth and heaven, nothing but the "rending of Christ's seamless coat"—*i.e.* schism. Some Catholics would dwell rather on the breach of continuity with the historic Church of all Time and Space that includes both the dead-living and the live-living; others would dwell rather on the disobedience to the infallible Vicar of Christ upon earth; but all would minimise the need of reformation, extenuate the slackness of the Church in meeting that need, emphasise the faults and crimes of those who led, and the divisions amongst those who took part in, the apostasy, and would probably apply to them the ecclesiastical version of the satirical "Treason ne'er prospers" maxim:—

Typical Estimates of the Reformation: 1. *Catholic.*

> "When doctrines meet with general approbation,
> It is not *Heresy* but *Reformation!*"

Then there is the *Protestant* view, which—regarding Christianity as an entirely personal matter between God and the individual, and the Church as simply an optional help not a necessary medium—sees nothing but clogging sensuous forms in Catholic worship, nothing but vain philosophising in Catholic doctrine (except those parts which it can deduce from the Scriptures), and, shutting its eyes more or less to the painful episodes in the history of Protestantism, glories in its "open Bible" as the antidote to "sacerdotalism" and "the superstitious idolatry of the Mass," and prides itself on its intense spirituality.

2. *Protestant.*

Finally, there is the *Scientific* view, which—regarding religion generally (and not only Christianity) as something intermediate between the sacerdotal conception of the Catholic and the personal conception of the Protestant, as some kind of higher social bond—envisages the Reformation as an imperfect individualist reaction from an imperfect autocratic system (both highly beneficial in their time and place); as amongst the large and enlarging events of Time; as, in fact, a movement whose tendency was to strike off the fetters from men's souls even as that of the Renascence was to free men's minds, that of the French Revolution to free men politically, and that of Socialism to free men socially. Tendency, be it noted, not result: even in the first pair the result is conceived as not yet fully attained, and in the second pair as still but an aspiration.

3. *Scientific.*

The difference between the three estimates may be summarised in a few words. The first two views have in common a respect for orthodoxy—though their standards are irreconcilable, the one referring every thing to the authority of the Church, the other to the authority of the Bible—and a dislike for the third view as irreligious and sceptical. The second two have in common a repugnance, varying from mere denial to downright hostility, to all that is distinctively Catholic, and a respect for the Reformation; but whereas to the thorough Protestant the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century is more or less final, resulting in a substitution of a true for a false dogmatic system, to the scientific surveyor it is commendable as the beginning of a critical spirit which takes nothing on

Development of the Reformation.

authority and insists on the harmony of religion and reason. The last named goes behind the Bible as the Protestant went behind the Church, and proclaims as a universal right that Private Judgment which Luther and his best known contemporaries either refused to recognise or hedged in with restrictions.

For it must not be forgotten that, in its beginnings, the Reformation seemed likely to bind rather than loose: Protestants were even more severe than Catholics on what they esteemed doctrinal obliquity. But with at least three distinct creeds (§ 23) claiming to be "the Truth," it soon became apparent that "goodness depended on something else than the holding of orthodox opinions." The Religious Toleration which has very gradually grown up from the recognition of this fact, and deepened into something approaching Religious Equality, has at least given a chance to honest conviction as against mere conformity, and by giving freer play to thought, has on the objective side extended men's exact knowledge of the world we live in, and on the subjective side extended the scope of individuality.

Political Effects of the Reformation: Church and State.

§ 26. So far we have treated the Reformation as a religious movement. But it was also political, and, as such, supplemented the political movement which we have already traced (§§ 7-15). The Catholic Idea partly shared the collapse of the Imperial Idea from which it had sprung, or at least by which it had been conditioned. It is true that, though the area of Roman Catholicism diminished, the power of its Head within the area left to it was, by the reaction against doctrinal revolution, saved from the almost inevitable decline to which its administrative abuses exposed it (§§ 6, 21)—nay not only saved but increased; yet the retention of a negative voice over Papal interference (cf. § 15) within countries in the Papal obedience, no less than the direct regulation elsewhere by the State of the *personnel* and mechanism of the ecclesiastical power, made it evident that the control of the Church had passed into the hands that controlled the State —that is, had become "national." At first everywhere, save perhaps in Switzerland, the National Church was, like the State, entirely in the hands of the king or prince: hence in

England it is the *Royal* Supremacy that resounds through the period, and in the German ecclesiastical settlement known as the Peace of Augsburg (1555), the formula is *cuius regio eius religio*—"the subject follows the religion of the Prince." Thus the first political effect of the Reformation was to increase the power of the ruler: later, this result was almost everywhere, but very slowly, undone by the working of the inner spirit of the Reformation. The same impulse of inquiry which had broken up the unity of the *Catholic* Church made men dissatisfied with the *National* Churches and made them express their dissatisfaction by setting up *Voluntary* Churches. This claim to have some voice in their own government in the matter of religion connected itself with the similar claim to have some voice in their own secular government. Hence the Reformation, which at first told generally in favour of Absolute Monarchies, has, in the long run, had its share in the building up of the Parliamentary Monarchies which have for the most part superseded them.

The Religious Contests of the Sixteenth Century.

§ 27. These developments, so manifest to us looking backward, were hidden from most of those who actually took part in the struggle which filled the greater part of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries and of which the echoes are not yet rolled away. Everywhere there was a struggle: nowhere was it fought out on purely religious grounds. By the end of the Sixteenth Century it had become pretty clear that the Swiss cantons—the little peasant republics that had grown up in the highlands of Germany—would remain divided in religion; and that the Netherlands would become different in religion as they already were in race, the Walloon South remaining Roman Catholic and Spanish, the "Dutch" Northern provinces becoming Protestant and independent. The conflict was interesting enough here, but the critical struggles were in France and Germany: in each case the disunion of the Protestants (§ 23) imperilled them in the face of enemies who, if politically disunited, were ecclesiastically—thanks to the Council of Trent (1545—1563)—more at one than ever. In Germany, the Hapsburgs, after a long struggle, restored Roman Catholicism in their hereditary dominions, though Hungarian Protestantism was long a

trouble to them; but in their endeavour, as Catholic Emperors, to suppress Protestantism in Germany, they only added to the divisions of that country. France, after first playing with the new theology, and encouraging the Protestant princes of Germany, as she encouraged the still warlike Turks, against the Emperor, for her own purposes, at last fell a prey herself to religious civil war, from which she emerged only when her king, Henry of Navarre, himself trained as a Huguenot, renounced his religion to gain his crown. It is especially with reference to these two countries that Mr. Gladstone's clear distinction, which goes to the root of the matter, holds true: "In the movement of the Sixteenth Century, England stands contrasted with other great European countries in this vital respect, that the instinct of national unity was throughout more powerful than the disintegrating tendencies of religious controversy."

A Dynasty of Dictators in England.

§ 28. That "instinct of national unity" was preserved, not without difficulty, by that joint action of the Church and Kingship to which, as we have seen (§ 1), its original creation was due. Only the Church, which had then taken the lead, had now fallen on evil days, and become the humble instrument of the King. So in fact did every other class and power in the land: the need of peace and order at home (§ 4), and the danger of foreign domination (§§ 12, 13), lay so sore upon Englishmen that they willingly acquiesced in the strong rule of the five Tudor princes who have been searchingly described as "a dynasty of dictators rather than a line of constitutional sovereigns." Of their methods we have incidentally seen something already (§§ 14, 15): enough at least to learn that, as Freeman put it, "the Sixteenth Century was the time of trial for parliamentary institutions in Europe." It is hard to see why our Parliament did not go the way of the Cortes of Castile and of Aragon or the States-General of France. The differences in structure noted above (§ 2) had something to do with it; the absence of a standing army perhaps influenced the Tudors quite as much as their respect for the letter of the law; and above all the usefulness of Parliament to "register the decrees" of the dictator kept it in existence. Constitutional government, which

elsewhere in Europe was *suppressed*, was with us only *submerged*.

The Rise and Meaning of the *New Monarchy*.

The point of change may be found by a glance at the reign of Henry VII. (1485—1509). During the first twelve years of this reign, six Parliaments were held; during the last twelve, only one. In the Tudor Period, Parliament lost control over taxation because it was hardly ever asked for: Tudor kings found other ways of meeting their expenditure, such as "benevolences" or compulsory presents, forced loans which were not repaid, plunder of monasteries and of the savings-banks of the poor, feudal dues, and judicial fines. By keeping down the expenditure, avoiding foreign complications, and steering clear especially of war, the Tudor kings realised the long-cherished ideal of "living of their own," and did not burden their people. Parliament, in fact, lost its original *raison d'être*, and came to be regarded as an institution to be called in only at rare intervals to solve extraordinary problems; and this it usually did, of itself or under pressure, in the way the King wanted them solved.

The Mediaeval and the Renascence Constitutions.

And thus, over against the Mediaeval Constitution, wherein Parliament was a constant factor with certain continually urged privileges, stood the Renascence Constitution, with its occasional Parliaments, and ever-busy Privy Council. As the popular Kingship superseded the Parliament, so the Privy Council to a large extent superseded the Jury, the prototype of the Parliament: juries dared not give verdicts against the Government, officials were protected, and the ordinary process of law set aside in favour of Star Chamber prosecutions and interrogations before the Council (ch. i., § 12).

The Church-State in the Middle Ages.

§ 29. By far the most important change in the Constitution which the Tudors effected was the revolution in the position of the National Church. We have seen how England was at first a Church—*i.e.*, the population of this country was organised as a whole under priests, ruling parishes, and bishops, ruling dioceses, in subordination, more or less, to the Archbishop of Canterbury: the Church had its system of law, which was universally administered, and which took cognizance of all cases. Under

the shadow of the Church the Kingship grew up, and also developed *its* jurisdiction: clearly at some time these two systems of law, these two governments, the ecclesiastical and lay, must come into conflict. The Eleventh Century, with its various ideals, developed the controversy. The quarrel was twofold: the appointment of the officers of the Church—especially the bishops in their twofold character of spiritual pastor and landed proprietor—and the question of jurisdiction. Into both questions, "investiture" as well as jurisdictions, the Pope entered as a third party; and in the *Statutes of Provisors* and *of Præmunire* (1391 and 1393) attempts were made to limit his power in these two respects.

Church and State under the Tudors.

In the Sixteenth Century, the failure of the Papacy to maintain the high ideal of its headship of Christendom; the growing dissatisfaction with its taxation over all Europe; the indignation against the wealth of the Clergy; and several other causes of which we have spoken (§ 21), made many men disposed to seek to alter the conditions of this strange triangular duel between the King, the Church, and the Papacy. The purely personal difficulty of the Divorce led Henry VIII. very gradually to simplify the problem—and what is more to carry Parliament with him—by eliminating one factor, the Pope; and this in turn led to changes in the internal relations of King and Church. Ultimately the King secured a much more real control than before over both the appointment—which is not the same as "making," be it noted—of bishops and their jurisdiction. The Regular Clergy were entirely plundered of home and property; the Secular Clergy were also plundered, but less mercilessly; and the English Church, separating herself, even as the English State had done, from foreign connexions, passed under the control of the lay power. And so to-day the Queen is "in all causes, and over all persons, within her dominions, supreme."

The Creed of the English Church.

So much for Church-government: there still remained the questions what was to be the ritual and the creed of this independent national Church. There was plenty of choice. It was an age as full of the strife of creeds as was the Fourth Century, each creed expecting to win and become "catholic." Henry VIII.

tended towards Protestantism, but, after the Pilgrimage of Grace (1536), harked back to conservatism, and himself died a Catholic in 1547. His successors undid his work by letting in the flood of foreign influences: his young son Edward VI.'s Guardians hurried the Church, with packed Parliaments, into extreme Protestantism (1547—1553); Mary restored the older Catholic faith, *plus* obedience to Rome (1553—1558). Elizabeth established that "mean between two extremes" which has ever since made it possible to dispute whether the English Church is Catholic or Protestant, and, in defence of this position, became engaged in a struggle for existence with Spain.

§ 30. The year 1588 is the real end of the Tudor Period. By the defeat of the Spanish Armada it was made clear that the Church and State called England could hold their own way independent of Europe, and the necessity for the dictatorship came to an end. If we might use the word "Stuart" to indicate a period rather than a family, it would be best to say the Stuart Period began not with Elizabeth's death in 1603, but in 1588. For it was from that date that there began the conflict which—leaving aside the appearance of England as a great commercial and colonising nation—gave its colour to the Seventeenth Century. Thanks to the Tudors the State was, more distinctly than ever before, a sovereign State; the Church was, more distinctly than ever before, a national Church: if no one outside England, who inside England, was to be master of them? The Stuarts took it for granted that by all right—Divine, natural, human, and municipal—they were the proper masters; but, as we have seen in the case of the undivided Catholic Church (§ 22), it is dangerous to take things for granted. Parliament and King disputed the sovereignty of England: the extreme parties, Papist and Puritan, wrestled for the power to mould the Church to their liking. The struggle ended in 1688, exactly one hundred years after the Spanish Armada, with a characteristically English compromise. Crown and Church were to go on "as before"—only the Crown was not to be Absolute, the Church not to be Romanist; but the final arbitration in cases of dispute and difficulty had practically shifted from the King to the Parliament.

The Tudors and the Stuarts: a contrast.

Analysis of the Tudor Period.

A. The Causes of the Strength of the Tudor Monarchy:—

I. *Negative*: A strong monarchy made *possible* by the cessation of opposition from the old rivals of the Kingship.

(1) **Weakness of the Baronage** after the civil wars [below, *sub* C. I. i. 1].

(2) **Wane of the Church**: the Clergy intent on keeping their property rather than acting up to their spiritual character.

(3) **Weariness of the Mass of People** for war and disorder.

II. *Positive*: A strong monarchy made *necessary*, or *advantageous*, or *stable* by—

(1) External Causes:

(*a*) **The need of facing France and Spain**, especially when the Reformation had set in.

(*b*) **The need of developing Commerce** under the new conditions created by the Geographical Discoveries of 1492, 1498, etc.

(*c*) The favourable estimate in which princely power was held by the men of the New Learning.

(*d*) The change made by *Gunpowder* and *Artillery* in the Art of War.

N.B.—The amplification of the **Law of Treason** is an illustration rather than a source of strength.

(2) Internal Causes:

(*a*) **Title secure**—except for part of reigns of Henry VII. (who strengthened himself by matrimonial alliances), and Elizabeth (who strengthened herself by declining matrimonial alliances).

(*b*) **Sentiment of Divine Right**: not yet made obnoxious by being hardened into a dogma and put forward, as under the Stuarts, by way of justification of unpopular acts.

(*c*) **Personal Characters of all five rulers**: strong and sensible, with unusual power to choose possible ends and the right means and men to carry them out.

(*d*) **Fear of disruption within**, at first on dynastic, later on religious pretexts (and in either case made more dangerous by chance of foreign interference).

(*e*) **Moral Support of Nation** (especially necessary because of absence of Standing Army), which shows itself in submission to the Tudor System [*sub* B] and in approval of Tudor Policy [*sub* C].

B. The Mechanism of Tudor Government.

I. Central Government:

i. **THE PRIVY COUNCIL**, whose *composition* and *working* alike are under the control of the King himself and *none other*. Powers:—

(1) **Administration**: conducted by various *central* and *provincial* committees, and equipped with large *means* to carry out its plans [*sub* 3], and *power* to enforce its will [*sub* 2].

(2) **Justice**: lacks the power of secular and ecclesiastical appeal exercised (since 1833) by Judicial Committee of Privy Council, but combines two functions:—

(*a*) Ministry of Justice: supervision of justices, sheriffs, juries, etc., engaged in the ordinary law-courts.

(*b*) Court of Justice—(*α*) **Court of Star Chamber**: prosecutor and judge in one; with extensive and peculiar powers of *Arrest*, *Examination*, *Punishment*. (*β*) *Courts of Requests* (1389—1599), *of Wardship* (1540—1641) and *Liveries* (1541—1641), etc.

(3) **Finance**: two departments:—

(*a*) Expenditure: uncontrolled management.

(*b*) Taxation: occasional imposition, *e.g.* of *Benevolences*, *Forced Loans*, *Monopolies*, *Certain Customs Dues*.

(4) **Legislation** (compare and contrast **Cabinet** of to-day):—

(*a*) Direct, (*α*) *Positive*: undefined power of **Proclamation**, especially from 1539 to 1547.
(*β*) *Negative*: King possesses vague **Dispensing** and **Suspending Powers**.

(*b*) Indirect:
(*α*) has collective and individual influence in Parliament;
(*β*) drafts or prompts the most important statutes.

Analysis of the Tudor Period (*continued*).

(5) **Local Government**: powers made effective by those named *sub* 2.

(*a*) DIRECT, by means of *Administrative Courts*, which are *provincial* committees of itself, like **Councils of Wales** (1478-1641), of **the North** (1537-1641), of **Calais** (till 1558), and of **Scots Marches.**

(*b*) INDIRECT: as a *Local Government Board*, supervises the local authorities — Corporations in the towns, Sheriffs, and J.P.'s in the counties [*sub* II., below].

[(6) **The Church**: the **Court of Ecclesiastical Commission** [*sub* C. I. i. 1] is closely connected with P. C.; finally organised in 1583, and consists of both clerics and laymen, forming an inquisitorial tribunal.]

ii. **THE PARLIAMENT**: which does *extraordinary*, as Council does *ordinary*, work of Government, and *keeps King in touch with Nation.*

(1) **Meetings**: irregular: 7 in Henry VII.'s 24 years, 13 in Elizabeth's 45 years; 32 in remaining 49 years of the Period.

(2) **Composition**: not widely representative, because of (*a*) *restricted franchise* in *counties* and *multiform franchise* in *boroughs*; (*β*) *influence of Crown. Numbers* of both Houses change greatly in the Period, sometimes through *Parliament* itself, generally through *Crown.*

	LORDS.		COMMONS.		
	SPIRITUAL.	TEMPORAL.	COUNTIES.	(*Members*) BOROUGHS.	
1485.	48 (21 *bishops*)	29	74	222	
1558.	26	43	90	312	
1603.	26	81	90	372	

(3) **Powers** [contrast those exercised under Lancastrians and striven for under Stuarts].

(*a*) *Finance*: two chief branches :—

(a) TAXATION.
(*α*) Grants Tunnage and Poundage *for life.*
(*β*) Winks at arbitrary Taxation [*sub* i. 3, *b*], *e.g. Benevolences*, 1495 (except Monopolies, 1571, 1597, 1601).
(*γ*) Cancels King's Debts, 1529, 1544.
(*δ*) Never dreams of demanding **Redress before Supply** (except in 1566?).

(b) EXPENDITURE.
Never attempts to
(*α*) **Appropriate Supplies** [till 1624: 1689 onwards].
(*β*) **Audit Accounts** [till 1667: 1690 onwards].

(*b*) *Legislation*: active but not independent :—

(*α*) passes Government measures *almost* without exception, especially 1529-1536.
(*β*) authorises extensive powers of *Proclamation*, 1539; withdrawn, 1547.
(*γ*) removes persons objectionable to King either *directly* (by **Bills of Attainder**), or *indirectly* by extending **Law of Treason.**
(*δ*) regulates the succession 1485, 1534, 1536, 1544, 1553, 1559, 1571.
(*ε*) assents to ecclesiastical legislation, especially 1529—1536, but does not *really initiate* it.

Elizabeth will not permit Parliament to **initiate** laws in either department: contrast 1566 (Paul Wentworth) with 1571 in *δ*; 1559 with 1566, 1571 (Strickland), and 1588 (Cope), in *ε*.

(*c*) *Administration*: the contrast noted *sub* 3 very marked.

(*α*) never seeks to enforce **Ministerial Responsibility** *to itself* for *acts* or *accounts* (by **Impeachment** or by **Audit**).
(*β*) often enforces Ministerial Responsibility *to Crown* by **Bills of Attainder**: a novelty.

(4) **Privileges**: the House of Commons successfully maintains—

(*a*) *Freedom of Speech*: 1512 (Strode); formally granted *each Parliament* from 1541, but violated by Elizabeth '66, '71, '88.
(*b*) *Exemption from Arrest on Civil Process*: 1543 (Ferrers), 1575 (Smalley).
(*c*) *Free Access to King*: from 1541.
(*d*) *Jurisdiction over Members*: 1548 (Storie), 1558 (Copley), 1571 (Long), 1572 (Hall), 1576, 1584, 1588 (Peter Wentworth); 1585 (Parry).
(*e*) *Decision of Election Questions*: 1553 (Nowell), 1586 (Norfolk).

COUNCIL AND PARLIAMENT: N.B.—How seriously the facts catalogued under i. and ii. above minimise the practical value of Hallam's [*p.* 6]

FIVE ESSENTIAL CHECKS ON THE ROYAL AUTHORITY.

I. Political Checks.
(a) **Parliamentary Control of Finance.**
(b) **Parliamentary Authority in Legislation.**

II. Securities for Liberty of the Subject.
(c) **Speedy Trial after Arrest.**
(d) **Trial by Jury of one's Peers,** in both civil and criminal causes.
(e) **Ministerial Responsibility.**

iii. **THE CONVOCATIONS OF CANTERBURY AND YORK.** Powers :—
(1) Taxative : grant clerical supplies [till 1664].
(2) Legislative : initiate ecclesiastical laws (often violated) ; but, by the **Submission of the Clergy,** 1532 (embodied in *statute*, 1534), they recognize
(*a*) That such existing *canons* as are contrary to the *Common Law* or to the *Statute Law* are invalid.
(*b*) That they cannot assemble or promulge *new* canons without the **Royal Licence.**

II. Local Government : with the qualifications noted *sub* I. i. 5 in the hands of
i. **BOROUGH AUTHORITIES :** the Mayor and [close] Corporations, who in many cases during this period become co-optative and acquire election of M.P.
ii. **COUNTY AUTHORITIES :—**
(1) **Sheriff :** who holds elections, sees to execution of justice, and controls the county-gaols.
(2) **Lord-Lieutenant :** instituted 1550, to command the **Militia (Fyrd),** the only national troops at the disposal of the Tudors, who discourage **Feudal Commissions of Array,** and have no need of **Standing Army.**
(3) **Justices of the Peace :** collectively in *Quarter-Sessions* a **district-board ;** individually, or in groups (*Petty-Sessions*), **police-magistrates.** N.B.—Not "**feudal.**"
Functions : varied and constantly increasing :—
(*a*) *Preliminary Investigation of Crime* : partly supplanting old Jury of Presentment : (α) write down results of *examination* of accused persons and *information* of witness ; (β) bind down the witnesses, and commit the accused, to appear at Quarter-Sessions or the Assizes.
(*b*) *Various Police Duties* : punish vagrants and offenders in the matters named under *c*.
(*c*) *Enforcement of Government Regulations* about **Trade** (*e.g.* Apprenticeship, 1563), **Beer-Licences** (1491, etc.), **Prices, Wages, Religious Worship.**
(*d*) *Supervision of the Relief of the Poor* : *sub* C. II. iii. 4.
iii. **PAROCHIAL AUTHORITIES :—**
(1) *Chief Officials* : *Constable, Surveyor of Highways,* **Churchwardens,** and **Overseers of the Poor.**
(2) *Meeting* : the **Vestry** [or, for manorial matters, the *Court Baron*].
(3) *Powers* : levying of *highway-rate* (fixed, in kind, 1555) and *poor-rate* (1601).

C. The Work of the Tudors: the organisation of England as an independent **Church** and **State.**

I. Negative Side : *the elimination of powers lying outside the ordinary working of the Law* :—

(i.) Domestic.
(1) **Suppression of the Landed Aristocracy.**
(*a*) *Secular* : especially by means of **Star Chamber.**
(*b*) *Ecclesiastical* : **Confiscation of the lands of the Regulars,** 1536—1539.
(2) **Subordination of Ecclesiastical Estate to Crown :** *sub* II. i. 1.

(ii.) Foreign.
Shaking off external control.
(1) *Secular* : often threatened till
(2) *Ecclesiastical* : the *Judicial, Administrative,* and *Taxative* power of the **Pope** repudiated in 1534 (restored, 1554-9) : not secured till
} **1588.**

Analysis of the Tudor Period (*continued*).

II. Positive Side: the further *Systematization* and *Extension* of the English Polity in its *ecclesiastical*, *political*, and *economic* aspects.

(i.) **SETTLEMENT OF THE CHURCH ON A NATIONAL BASIS**: disturbed by intrusion of Foreign Influences (*Saxon*, *Swiss*, or *Roman*), **1547—1558**.

(1) **Government**: the assertion and definition of the **Royal Supremacy**, 1531 onwards. It involves a *regulative* control over ecclesiastical—

(*a*) Legislation: Crown has the *initiative*, later a *negative voice* only [*sub* B., I. iii. 2].

(*b*) Administration: including (*α*) *Patronage* (especially "appointment" of bishops), and (*β*) power of *Visitation* (exercised *temp.* Henry VIII. through a **Vicar-General**, *temp.* Elizabeth by a **Court of High Commission**).

(*c*) Jurisdiction: Crown (*α*) appoints Highest Court of Spiritual Appeal; (*β*) originates *coercive* jurisdiction of Ecclesiastical Courts.

(2) **Worship**: modified by *Acts of Uniformity* in 1549, 1552, "settled" by **Prayer Book**, 1559.

(3) **Doctrine**: modified 1536, 1537, [1539], 1543, 1552: "settled" by **the XXXIX. Articles**, accepted by Convocation in 1563, ratified by Parliament in 1571.

(ii.) **ORGANISATION OF THE ISLAND STATE.**

(1) Central Government made more efficient by the methods of—

(*a*) **Consolidation**: *judicial*, *administrative*, and *parliamentary*:—

(*α*) *Palatine jurisdictions* abolished (*e.g.* Chester, 1543), or exercised by Crown (*e.g.* Lancaster, 1491), or regulated by 27 Hy. VIII. c. 24.

(*β*) *Wales incorporated with England* 1536, 1543; etc.

(*γ*) *Wales first represented in Parliament* 1536; Chester, 1543; etc.

(*b*) **Centralisation**:—

(*α*) Double-headedness ended by assertion of King as Supreme Governor over all persons and causes, *ecclesiastical* as well as *civil*.

(*β*) Resumption of Central Control over Local Affairs [gradually dropped till establishment of *Local Government Board*, 1871].

(*c*) **Extension**: both within and beyond British Isles:—

(*α*) Acquisition, by *Poyning's Law* of 1495, by English Privy Council of control over what in 1542 becomes the *kingdom* of Ireland.

(*β*) Preparation, by the marriage of James IV. and Margaret Tudor in 1503, for union of Crowns of England and Scotland, 1603.

(*γ*) Eastward Extension dropped, by loss of Calais, 1558 (unintentional); Westward Extension essayed (unsuccessful).

(2) Reorganisation of Local Government: especially J.P. [*sub* B. II.].

(iii.) **ECONOMIC WORK.**

(1) **Agriculture**: Crown attempts to check depopulation of the rural districts:—

(*a*) Direct Methods.	(*b*) Indirect Method.
(*α*) Restrictions on **Enclosures**.	Encouragement of Home Industries, especially by attracting skilled foreign refugee artisans.
(*β*) Regulation of ratio of **Pasture** to **Tillage**.	

(2) **Trade**: Crown attempts to regulate Prices and Wages [*sub* B. II. ii. 3 *c.*]

(3) **Commerce**: Commercial Treaties; Chartered Companies (especially E.I.C., 1600); Navigation Acts.

(4) **Provision for the Poor**, hitherto a *voluntary religious* obligation, gradually (after 1536) acknowledged as *compulsory civil* obligation by successive enactments culminating in the **First General Poor Law, 1601**. Features:—

(*a*) Treatment.	(*b*) Means.
(*α*) *Relief* for *impotent* poor.	**Poor-rate** on *landed* property: assessed, collected, and administered *parochially* by unpaid *Overseers*, appointed by J.P.
(*β*) *Work* for *able-bodied* poor.	
(*γ*) *Punishment* for *idle* poor.	

[N.B.—**Law of Settlement**, 1662; **Unions** of Parishes, and *paid* **Guardians**, *permitted by Gilbert's Act*, 1782; **Poor-Law Amendment Act**, 1834.]

CHAPTER I.

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII.

August 22, 1485—April 22, 1509.

§ 1. Bosworth Field, August 22, 1485 : its Importance and Antecedents.—§ 2. Henry Tudor's Early Years, Doings, and Title.—§ 3. Divisions of Henry VII.'s Reign : Lambert Simnel, 1487.—§ 4. Minor Outbreaks, 1488-1492 : First Appearance of Perkyn Warbeck.—§ 5. Warbeck's Reappearance ; the Cornish Rising of 1497 ; the End of Warbeck.—§ 6. Henry VII.'s International Relations : (*a*) France.—§ 7. (*b*) Flanders : its Commerce.—§ 8. (*c*) Scotland : its Political Conditions.—§ 9. (*d*) Spain.—§ 10. The Foreign Policy of Henry's Later Years.—§ 11. Henry's Internal Policy, and the Men, Means, and Motives that guided it.—§ 12. Henry and the *Lords* : the Star Chamber.—§ 13. Henry and the *Clergy* : the Extension of the Rule of Law.—§ 14. Henry and the *Commons* : the Expansion of English Commerce.—§ 15. Methods of Taxation : Empson and Dudley.—§ 16. Henry's Death, Character, and Statesmanship.

The Battle of Bosworth, Aug. 22, 1485.

§ 1. THE battle of Bosworth, which practically brought to a close our English "Thirty Years' War," was fought on the same day of the year as, 157 years later, witnessed the formal opening of our shorter and nobler civil war of the seventeenth century. That day was August 22; and thus one anniversary is common both to the war which, amongst other things, made the abolition of Parliament *possible* (Intro., § 28), and to that war which, amongst other things, made that abolition *im*possible. The Wars of the Roses were, as we have seen (Intro., § 4), a struggle of various local and personal interests fighting for mastery under cover of a dynastic contest ; and Bosworth Field, by the very fact of settling the latter, placed on the throne a ruler at once strong enough and wise enough to heal up or stamp out most of the social evils which had, now as ever, found their opportunity in the

weakness of the previous governments. So, at least, it turned out; but it is not to be forgotten that the results of the invasions of England by dynastic speculators of native or foreign extraction, which have marked the years 1066, 1399, 1485, or 1688, were by no means so inevitable as our familiarity with the mere fact of their success is apt to make them appear. It only gradually became manifest that the transfer of the crown effected at Bosworth was not to be undone; and that is the prime fact which makes 1485 a great turning-point in English history. For of the nine kings who had reigned in England since Edward I., only two—the fighting kings Edward III. and Henry V.—had been quite firm in the saddle, while five had come to violent ends. It was no small thing that Henry VII. escaped the lot of the latter, and that although, like the fourth Henry and the fourth Edward, he was hard put to it to keep his seat, he emerged triumphantly from the struggle.

Events leading up to Bosworth Field.

The circumstances which made the invasion of Henry first possible and then successful, fully illustrate the factious spirit that was abroad. When Edward IV. died, early in 1483, he left behind him a son of twelve years old at the mercy of two hostile factions—his wife's relations, the Wydvilles, and the older nobility, headed by Henry, Duke of Buckingham (Tree, p. xii.). Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the uncle and natural guardian of the young King Edward V., saw that he must either be of no account during the minority or else work with the latter party against the Queen-mother and her set. In self-defence, therefore, he secured the person of the King, and put to death several of the upstart Wydvilles; then, fearing lest young Edward should fall under the influence of his mother, he gave out that both his own brothers were illegitimate, and induced Parliament to declare himself the lawful heir (June 25, 1483). Though early deserted by Buckingham—who headed a revolt, failed, and was executed—his ability as a soldier and as a statesman, and his winning manners might have kept his hold on the crown, had he not committed the blunder-crime of making away with both his nephews—ex-king Edward V. and Richard, Duke of York. Despite his beneficial legislation of 1484

he lost his popularity, and after barely two years' reign lost his life at Bosworth, near Leicester, in fighting a rival who was supported by nearly all existing factions. The strength of Henry Tudor lay not only in foreign gold and ships, and in the disaffection which more than counterbalanced the superior numbers of the royal troops, but also in the swords of his Welsh fellow-countrymen and of many a malcontent Yorkist. Richard III.'s crown was picked up under a hawthorn-bush, and placed on the victor's head by his mother's husband, Lord Stanley, amid shouts of "King Harry."

The Early Years of Henry Tudor.

§ 2. Henry, Earl of Richmond, was the only son of a child-mother, Margaret Beaufort, by her first husband, a Welsh gentleman named Edmund Tudor. This Lady Margaret—whose name has many associations with educational foundations at both Cambridge and Oxford—was the only surviving member of the third family of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster (Tree, p. xii.). The Beaufort family had been legitimatised by Richard II., and were the mainstays of the reigning branch of the Lancastrians. Partly for this reason, partly because its grandfather, Owen Tudor, had married Henry V.'s widow, Katharine of France, Henry VI. took care of the infant Henry, seeing that its father had died before its birth. The lad remained in England till the death of Prince Edward, last of the royal House of Lancaster, after the rout at Tewkesbury in 1471, left him the nearest male representative of that line, and so made flight necessary. His uncle Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, conveyed him to the court of Duke Francis of Brittany (Intro., § 12), who was twice almost persuaded to surrender him to the Yorkists, and who twice helped to fit him out for a descent on England. The first attempt shared in the ill-luck of Buckingham's companion venture in 1483; the second saw him reach London as King, barely a month after he had landed an adventurer at Milford Haven.

Henry VII.'s Coronation.

How as a matter of fact Henry became king is simple enough: his precise legal title is a much more delicate affair. On October 30, interpreting the favourable reception which he had everywhere met with as equivalent to national acceptance, he had himself formally crowned by Archbishop Bourchier. On the same day he

instituted a body of personal troops that still survive as the "Yeomen of the Guard"; and these fifty archers, with the garrisons of Berwick, Calais, etc., were all the standing army that England had down to the days of the New Model. The self-denial shown in doing without an Army is no less characteristic of the Tudors than Henry's unauthorised assumption of the crown: throughout they act not necessarily *through* the people, but certainly *with* the people, and have but little need for the support of physical force.

Henry's First Parliament.

About a month later (November 7)—the delay was partly due to the prevalence of a new disease called "the Sweating Sickness"—he met the Parliament which he had summoned to recognise or sanction the title that he had assumed, to reverse the attainders of his own party, and to attaint "the heads and principals of his enemies." Henry claimed to have become King "by just title of inheritance, and by the true judgment of God in giving him the victory over the late usurper." Parliament refrained from stating the grounds of its assent, and simply registered an accomplished fact by declaring: "That the inheritance of the crown be, rest, remain and abide in the most royal person of our now sovereign lord King Henry VII., and in the heirs of his body."

Henry VII.'s title to the Crown.

It was just as well, perhaps, thus to slur over the nature of Henry's claims to the crown. A claim founded on conquest alone would have been neither judicious nor true. The validity of the title by inheritance was, and still is, much disputed, for the rules of succession to the crown have been less elaborated than those regarding private lands. A glance at the Tree on p. xii. will show that Henry was descended from John of Gaunt by his third wife, Katharine Swynford. Her children had been born while she was still his mistress, but they were legitimatised in 1397, both by royal patent and by Act of Parliament; and this act was ratified by Henry IV. in 1407, with the significant modification, *excepta dignitate regali*. In point of fact, putting aside the absent descendants of John of Gaunt by his second and Spanish marriage (cf. p. 35), Henry VII. was the nearest kinsman to Henry VI., and this consideration was held more important than the technical difficulty

about the half-blood, or the possible validity of Henry IV.'s limitation.

In line of descent from Edward III., the daughters of Edward IV., the children of his brother George, Duke of Clarence, and even the three surviving sons of his sister Elizabeth, stood before Henry; but the latter were attainted, and the former had been declared base-born by Richard's Parliament. This latter stigma was now removed in order that Henry might fulfil the promise which on Christmas-day 1483 he had solemnly made in the cathedral of Rennes, that he would marry Elizabeth, Edward's eldest daughter. The Yorkists who had intrigued and fought for him on the strength of this promise would not abide in their adherence unless he carried it out; but Henry was exceedingly careful so to act that, however much his position was really strengthened by the match, his formal title should be quite independent of it. Whatever his title was, it is clear that it was neither the old Yorkist one of indefeasible hereditary descent nor the old Lancastrian one of parliamentary election. Anyhow, when on January 18, 1486, he married the Lady Bessy, he did his best to ensure the acceptability of his descendants to both parties. The Tudor emblems, the Portcullis and the bi-coloured Rose, that stud so many of our fairest buildings, happily symbolise the closing of old family controversies by the accession of a king who was bent on being the king not merely of a White or of a Red faction but of the nation.

Divisions of Henry's Reign.

§ 3. Henry's triple title—Descent, Conquest, and National Acceptance—was a few months later made fourfold by a bull of Pope Innocent VIII., that was taken as giving the Divine sanction; but his position was almost as difficult to secure as to define. Nearly twelve years elapsed before Henry was really safe from rivals who disputed his title, and was free to devote himself to those foreign intrigues in which he delighted, and which were designed not only to protect England from foreign interference, but also to show that she meant to take her place as heretofore in the affairs of Europe. Thus Henry's work naturally falls into three divisions: in the first half of his reign Henry VII. figures

mostly as the founder of a dynasty (§§ 1-5); in the second half he can afford to be a busy diplomatist (§§ 6-10); while concurrently with both these activities, he follows in the train of our great kings, Henry II. and Edward I., by his most useful, and at the same time least ostentatious work, in remedying the old evil of "lack of governance" (§§ 10-16).

Lord Lovel's Rising, April 1486.

Henry's first trouble came whilst he was making a progress in the North to wean it from its Yorkist affections. An old supporter of Richard, Viscount Lovel, marched on York, whilst Sir Humfrey and Sir Thomas Stafford, connections of the Duke of Buckingham, rose in Worcestershire. But their rising was, as Henry said, "a mere rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the House of York." Before a promise of pardon the insurgents quickly melted away: "the heralds," Bacon notes, "were the great ordnance," which formed the best instrument of repression in the hands of Henry's uncle Jasper, who had been raised to the dukedom of Bedford, as his step-father Lord Stanley to the earldom of Derby, just before the coronation. Lord Lovel escaped to Margaret, Dowager-Duchess of Burgundy, Edward IV.'s younger sister (Table, p. 84), whose court at Brussels was for a long period "the fertile seed-bed of plots against the English monarchy."

Lambert Simnel, Feb.-June, 1487.

She contributed the main strength of the next rising, though it seems not to have been initiated by her. The central figure of this attempt was a boy of some eleven years old, who turned out to be the son of an Oxford tradesman, variously described as an organ-builder, joiner, baker and shoemaker. Lambert Simnel had been trained by a priest named Richard Symons to personate Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick and son of Clarence, and as such he was recognised in Ireland, whose Yorkist proclivities date back, as we shall see in its proper place (ch. x., § 5) as far as the time of the Duke Richard. In Ireland he made his first appearance in March 1487, and won the support of the ex-deputy, the Earl of Kildare, and of Kildare's family connections, the Geraldines. Henry easily demonstrated the falseness of

his pretensions by parading in public the real Edward, whose person he had taken the precaution of securing immediately after Bosworth, but the very usefulness of the prisoner for this purpose saved his life. Simnel was crowned in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, in May, and soon afterwards landed with a formidable force at Fouldrey, in Furness, where the Yorkist, Sir Thomas Broughton, had much influence. He advanced southwards, but, in Bacon's phrase, "his snowball did not gather as it went"; and on June 16, 1487, the kerns and gallowglasses, whom Kildare had sent over under his brother, the Irish Chancellor, and Martin Schwartz's 2000 "Almains," supplied by Margaret of Burgundy, were utterly defeated, after some three hours' hard fighting, at Stoke, near Newark. Amongst the slain leaders was John de la Pole, Earl of Lincoln (Tree, p. xii.), whose adoption as heir by Richard III., on the death of his own son Edward, made him at once discontented and dangerous. Simnel became a turnspit in the royal kitchen, and later his good behaviour elevated him to the post of falconer.

The New Prince Arthur.

True to his policy of preferring mercy to vengeance, Henry let Yorkist suspects off with fines (§ 15); and, as Bacon puts it, "finding where his shoe did wring him, and that it was his depressing of the House of York that did rankle and fester the affections of his people," he had the Queen crowned with much state on November 25. She had earned her crown matrimonial by giving birth, fourteen months before, to a son, on whom, in commemoration of the Briton blood flowing in Tudor veins, the Keltic name of Arthur had been bestowed.

Minor Outbreaks, 1489-1492.

§ 4. The next two disturbances at home seem to have arisen out of discontent of the taxation which Henry's fighting in Brittany (§ 6) made necessary, and to stand apart from any dynastic question. Both took place in Yorkshire, where, notes Bacon, "the memory of King Richard was so strong, that it lay like lees in the bottoms of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up." The rising at Thirsk in 1489 occasioned the death of the Earl of Northumberland; but it was easily put down by the Earl of

Surrey. One of its leaders, Sir John Egremont, took refuge with Margaret in Flanders; another, "a very *boutefeu*," * who called himself John a' Chamber, was gibbeted at York. A more obscure *émeute* at Acworth in Yorkshire was likewise suppressed by Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey, whose father, the first Duke of Norfolk of his line (Tree, p. 202), had fallen at Bosworth, fighting faithfully for Richard, and who himself was set over the Council charged with the government of the North.

Perkyn Warbeck's First Attempt, 1492-3.

This was in **1492**, a year marked also by the appearance of a competitor for the crown, whose origin is mysterious, who was long before the public, and who never was particularly dangerous, perhaps, though he certainly might easily have become so. This was a "fair-spoken, richly-dressed youth," who in February **1492**, landed at Cork from Portugal, and was there, according to his own account, persuaded to claim the crown as Richard, Duke of York, one of the princes supposed to have been murdered in the Tower. In his confession, several years later, he gave out that he was the son of a Flemish Jew of Tournay, and that his real name was Piers Osbeck, or Perkyn Warbeck. The "historic doubts" † that have been entertained as to whether he was really an impostor have now been scattered, and the general truth of his confession confirmed. From Ireland, where the Desmond Fitzgeralds could not, and the Kildare Fitzgeralds would not, help him, Warbeck went to France, whence he was in November expelled, in accordance with the Treaty of Estaples (§ 6). He found refuge with the Dowager-Duchess Margaret, who gave him a body-guard, and what Bacon calls "the delicate title of *The White Rose of England*."

§ 5. Warbeck's refuge was soon rendered precarious by the pressure which Henry, by cutting off the wool-trade in **1493**, was able to put on the new government in Flanders (§ 7); and at home his cause was severely crippled by the publication of the confessions of the murderers of the two princes, and by the

Warbeck's Wanderings, 1493-97.

* That is "firebrand": the word is Bacon's.

† *Historic Doubts on the Life and the Reign of Richard III.* was the title of a book by Horace Walpole (1768), in which the grounds for belief in Warbeck were set forth.

execution of many Yorkists who were intriguing with him, and whose names were revealed to Henry by Sir Robert Clifford, an informer. Amongst those implicated were Sir William Stanley, who did not think he had been adequately rewarded for his services at Bosworth. Though his brother, the Earl of Derby, was the Lady Margaret's husband (§ 2, p. 60), he was executed early in 1495.

Despite these reverses, Warbeck set off a few months later on the second series of his romantic adventures, in a fleet equipped by the Emperor Max. In July 1495, a band of his followers landed at Deal, and were repulsed. He then attempted the siege of Waterford, which was rewarded for its loyalty to Henry with the title of *Urbs Intacta*. At the end of the year he was invited to the court of James IV. of Scotland. James gave him in marriage a cousin of his, Katharine Gordon, daughter of the Earl of Huntley, and in September 1496, invaded England on his behalf. The Earl of Surrey beat them off, and, thanks to the marauding of his allies, against which he protested in vain. "Richard, Duke of York," gained little support in England. In the spring of 1497 James sent him away. In the previous year, Henry, by removing the restrictions which he had placed on the trade with Flanders, had succeeded in making an arrangement by which rebels against either party should be expelled from the territories of the other (§ 7). Warbeck's only place of refuge was Ireland, but though the legislation known as Poyning's Law, 1495, had caused considerable irritation there (ch. x., § 5), he could no longer count on the support of Kildare, and consequently did not venture into the eastern, or English, part of the island.

The Cornishmen at Blackheath, June 1497.

Meanwhile, a most serious rebellion took place in England. Annoyed at the grant of a heavy subsidy to guard the northern frontier, the Cornishmen rose in revolt under the leadership of Michael Joseph, a farrier, Thomas Flammock, a lawyer, and an old Lancastrian nobleman, Lord Audley. Some 15,000 men marched on London, in hopes of rousing the men of Kent, being told that "Kent was never conquered, and that they were the freest people of England." They

were disappointed, and, despite the excellence of their archery, were on June 17, 1497, routed by Lord d'Aubigny, on Blackheath Field—only five miles S.E. of S. Paul's. Two thousand rebels fell on the field; the three leaders were captured and executed; the remainder were pardoned.

The End of Perkyn Warbeck.

Warbeck was at once attracted by the disaffection. He landed in September at Whitsand Bay, near Penzance, assumed the title of "Richard IV.," and with some 3000 men laid siege to Exeter. Driven thence, he pushed on to Taunton with a force which now numbered 7000 men. But, as in the case of a later pretender in the same district—Monmouth in 1685—Warbeck's courage failed him: he deserted his followers, and sought sanctuary at Beaulieu Abbey, in Hampshire. He was induced to leave it, and was imprisoned. He attempted to escape next year, but gave himself up when he found the roads blocked; and in November 1499 he and his fellow-prisoner, Warwick—whom yet another impostor, one Ralph Wulford, had recently been impersonating—were accused of plotting against the King, and were executed. Warbeck's wife was made lady-in-waiting to the Queen, and, in Bacon's words, "the name of the *White Rose*, which had been given to her husband's false title, was continued to her true beauty."

International Relations.

§ 6. The events of 1497 had put the prospects of a counter-revolution at a discount; and thus Henry was able to direct his foreign policy to ends somewhat beyond mere self-preservation. His international dealings reached as far as Italy, in whose affairs he was always exceedingly well posted, but were principally concerned with the lands nearer home—France, Flanders,—and through it, as the Table on p. 84 shows, the Empire—Scotland and Spain.

Diplomacy and Marriage.

The methods and objects of this foreign policy are alike striking. The newly organised States of the West (Intro., §§ 7-15) were so much less isolated than the old feudal groups that it was becoming usual for each Power, not only to frequently interchange views by special envoys, but also to keep standing legations constantly at the leading courts; and this involved a great

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extension of diplomatic activity. The current conception of a country as a family estate, is amply illustrated by the fact that the normal aim of that diplomacy seems to be nothing but royal marriages. The match-making of this period fixes the lines on which the policy of the chief European States was to run for many a long day. The significance of some of these marriages—*e.g.* those of Maximilian and Mary, of Ferdinand and Isabella—we have already noted (Intro., §§ 10-13); and we shall, in the course of our story, see the importance not only of the Portuguese and Flemish alliances of the Spanish House (Tree, p. 84), but of several others that even more closely concern England.

1. France: the Affair of Brittany.

Henry VII.'s first participation in Continental matters, centred, in fact, round the disposal of an heiress, through the necessity of aiding his old protector, Francis, Duke of Brittany (§ 2). Francis had no heir, and there were several candidates for the hand of his daughter, Anne, and for her dower, his duchy. The two principal of these were Charles VIII. of France, and Maximilian, King of the Romans. The former wished to complete his father's unification of France by absorbing the last of the great fiefs (Intro., § 12): the latter hoped to make such another *coup* as he had already made in his Burgundian alliance (Intro., § 10). Henry, with his hereditary claims to France dangling before him, naturally sought to weaken the position of Charles as the present holder of his "rightful heritage," and so favoured Maximilian. Herein he was supported both by Parliament and people. In 1488, Parliament gave him a heavy grant for the defence of Brittany, and many Englishmen, despite the King's orders, followed Lord Wydville, the Queen's brother, across to Brittany. The Parliamentary grant resulted only in the rising at Thirsk previously recorded (§ 4); and Wydville's disobedience only in his death upon the battle-field of S. Aubin, July 1488. The decease of the old Duke Francis shortly afterwards plunged his duchy into a confusion which the great victory of Lord d'Aubigny, at Dixmude near Calais, about a year later did little to lessen. In the summer of 1490 Maximilian married Anne by proxy, but as he did nothing to help the lady, she was obliged, in

December 1491, to repudiate the contract, and marry Charles VIII., who had himself been long ago engaged to marry Maximilian's daughter Margaret. The union of Brittany with France was at least temporarily accomplished.

Henry's Invasion of France, 1492.

In response to the cry for war, Henry raised large sums for an invasion of France. In October 1492, he landed at Calais and laid siege to Boulogne, but soon, like Edward IV. at Pecquigny in 1475, entered into negotiations, and within a month of his landing signed the *Treaty of Estaples*. Charles bought off Henry for 745,000 crowns (a sum equivalent to £4,000,000 in modern money), which was to be paid off in twenty-five yearly instalments—which the French were pleased to call "pension," the English "tribute." In this way, remarks Bacon, "Henry gained from his subjects by war, and from his enemies by peace." Charles made this and other unfavourable treaties about this time, in order to clear the way for that invasion of Italy in 1494, to whose importance attention has already been called (Intro., §§ 8, 12). He preferred to push the old Angevin claims on Naples to taking vengeance on England for the Hundred Years' War.

2. Flanders.

§ 7. With no country had the English more intimate relations than with Flanders: our wool being as essential to their looms as their cloth to our bodies, the two countries had been "counted as man and wife for a long time." Nothing did more to make Edward IV. popular than his restoration of the old security of trade with that country, which was at that time almost the only distinctively manufacturing district in Northern Europe. It was studded with busy cities, of which the chief were Ghent and Bruges, the latter being one of the principal factories and ports in the Hansa League (§ 20, p. 37), and "the haunt of all the nations." The earldom of Flanders was at once the wealthiest and the most refractory of the Netherlandish lands which, under circumstances we have already noted (Intro., § 10), had come more or less under the control of Maximilian. Early in Henry VII.'s reign, Flanders was administered by Margaret, Edward IV.'s sister, on behalf of her step-grandson, Philip, Archduke of

Austria (Tree, p. 84). "She set up King Henry," observes Bacon, "as a mark, at whose overthrow all her actions should aim and shoot, insomuch as all the wounds of his troubles came chiefly out of that quiver."

Her persistent support of Yorkist pretenders caused Henry in return to banish all Flemings from England, and proclaim Calais instead of Antwerp,—for Maximilian had recently cut short the commercial career of Bruges, by stopping up the canal connecting it with the sea—as the *staple*, or market, for wool (September 1493). Though the stoppage damaged the English merchants more than the Flemish, the blow was so serious for the latter, that in 1496 the Archduke Philip—who had taken over the direct government of the Netherlands when, on the death of Frederick III. in 1493, his father, Maximilian, became in all but name, Emperor (Intro., § 9)—agreed to expel political exiles in return for a commercial treaty. This was called *Intercursus Magnus* or *The Great Intercourse*, and provided for the exchange of commodities "without pass or licence," and for the maintenance of order in the Narrow Seas. It was modified by a treaty ten years later, called by the Flemings *Malus Intercursus*, as being less favourable to them: by it Philip had to give up Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk (Tree, p. xii.), a rival whom Philip and his father had been keeping for some years as a possible trump card against Henry. This treaty was not quite voluntary on Philip's part. Early in 1506 he had been driven by bad weather to take refuge on our coasts as he sailed southwards to claim, in right of his wife Joanna, the throne of Castile, vacant by the death of good Queen Isabella in 1504: the treaty was practically the price of his release. Two matrimonial alliances—of Philip's sister Margaret to Henry himself, and of Philip's son Charles to Henry's daughter Mary—were also arranged; but as we shall see (§ 10) they fell through.

3. Scotland: its political conditions.

§ 8. Henry's nearest neighbour was in a far weaker position than he himself was. Scotland, as might be expected of a "land of the mountain and the flood," lacked those facilities of intercommunication which form the easiest means to bring men

together; and to the geographical obstacles in the way of union were added those of race and polity. The inhabitants of the Lowlands were, in the main, of English descent, but they had taken the name of the Irish tribe of Scots who about 500 A.D. had begun to cross into Caledonia; who in the course of four centuries blended with the Pictish inhabitants of the Highlands; who had given their own name to the country; and whose kings in the Tenth Century had settled in Edinburgh, and fallen under first English, then Norman influence. In the main, therefore, the Lowlanders were of Teutonic, the Highlanders were of Keltic, race: little love was lost between them. Moreover both sections were divided amongst themselves by their polity: feudal "lords in the Lowlands," tribal "chiefs in the North," to echo Scott's ballad, were still the real rulers in their own lands. Only very slowly were the kings following the example of their brother kings of the West of Europe (Intro., §§ 7-15), by extending and consolidating their territories, and acquiring something like a real control over their government. The house of Stuart, which had held the throne since 1371, was very little stronger than the rival houses of Douglas, Hamilton, or Campbell; and were besides handicapped by a succession of minorities and by the non-existence in Scotland of the Commons as a political estate to support them against baronial or tribal pretensions. Hence largely it came about that, in the words of Michelet, "Scotland was the last of the kingdoms to emerge from the anarchy of the Middle Ages."

Henry VII.'s dealings with Scotland.

Despite the ill-feeling—scorn on the English, rancour on the Scottish, side—which had for the most part subsisted between the two kingdoms ever since Edward I.'s premature attempt to effect the unification of Great Britain, Henry VII. was at first on friendly terms with his northern neighbour. There was even some talk of marrying to James III. the Queen's mother Elizabeth, widow of Edward IV., and a bit of a mischief-maker at home. James, however, fell in 1488 before a combination amongst the nobles, whose excessive power he had done so much to cut down; and his gifted son, James IV., renewed the old Scots policy of hostility to

England. His support of Warbeck mentioned above (§ 5), was withdrawn in 1497, largely through the influence of the Spanish Court and its genial envoy Don Pedro de Ayala; and in August 1503 the marriage of Henry's eldest daughter Margaret with the Scottish King—which had been some time under consideration—actually took place, and cemented the *Perpetual Peace* signed in January. It was this marriage of "*the Thrissil and the Rois*," as the poet Dunbar called it, that, in the third generation, brought about the union of the English and Scottish crowns on the head of James I. of England (Table, p. xiii.). Bacon's eulogy of Henry VII. is neatly summarised in the statement that "*the union of the Roses was in him consummate, and that of the Crowns in him begun.*"

4. Spain.

§ 9. Another marriage alliance is remarkable, not only for the contentions which were to arise out of it in the next reign (ch. ii., iii.), but for the curious way in which the negotiations for it connect themselves with Henry's efforts for undisputed possession at home, and for prestige abroad. As early as 1490 Henry had close diplomatic relations with Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, who were, like himself, interested in hindering the annexation of Brittany to the French Crown. There was much talk of alliance with a view to the recovery of Acquitaine, or at least Guienne, by England, and to the recovery by Aragon of Roussillon, a small territory occupying a good point of vantage at the north-east angle of the Pyrenees; but the Spanish sovereigns were too busy with the Moors to do more than give an occasional glance at what was going on in the North, and were besides disposed to put too high a value upon their services to a king who was still far from secure on his throne; and so the treaties, signed and projected, came to naught.

Spain *v.* France, in Italy.

The immense increase in the Spanish power, within and without the Peninsula, during the last decade of the Fifteenth Century (Intro., § 13), made Henry desirous of a nearer connection with their Catholic Majesties; and after 1494 they showed themselves hardly less desirous of an alliance which would secure Henry's aid in checking the ambitious designs of France in Italy.

Charles VIII.'s invasion of Naples as heir to the house of Anjou (Intro., § 12, p. 20) directly concerned Ferdinand, both as the ruler of Sicily, and as a kinsman of the reigning house which had for a time managed to put out and keep out of Naples its old Angevin rivals. Ferdinand was a member of the League whose existence was one of the causes which compelled Charles to retreat from Naples in **1495**. Louis XII., who succeeded Charles in **1498**, was less interested in Naples than in Milan—to which he derived a claim from the marriage of his grandfather with one of the Visconti, in the days when the Visconti held the duchy; and in **1500**, he consented to partition Naples with Ferdinand. He was expelled in **1505**, and Ferdinand was left in a possession that was for long enough threatened by the unwillingness of French monarchs to believe their exclusion as permanent as it has proved to be.

The Marriage of Arthur and Katharine, 1501.

Under these circumstances the Spanish sovereigns found it advisable to make friends with the Powers that lay to the north of France. In **1496**, they married their daughter Joanna to Philip, the ruler of the Netherlands, and drew closer to the English King. It is believed that the execution of Warwick and Warbeck, in **1499** (§ 5), was due mainly to Henry's knowledge that their existence, as giving malcontents a possible rallying point against him, made Ferdinand and Isabella hesitate to seal such a connection with a marriage. And the flight of the late Earl of Lincoln's brothers (§ 3, and Tree, p. xii.), in **1501**, seems to show that they feared a similar fate. At any rate it was not till November **1501**, that Henry's eldest son, Arthur, a boy of fourteen, married Katharine of Aragon, Ferdinand's youngest daughter, who was a year older. On the death of the young Prince of Wales, in April **1502**, a dispensation was obtained from Pope Julius II. for Henry, Duke of York, to marry his brother's widow. The betrothal was, however, not followed up by marriage till after the King's death (ch. ii., § 3); but the presence of Katharine and her dowry in England were of great use to Henry in reciprocating on her father the pressure that Ferdinand had once been able to put upon him.

§ 10. The six years which elapsed between the death of Henry's Later Foreign Policy. Henry VII.'s wife in 1503—a year marked also by the death of "Henry's Juno," the Dowager-Duchess Margaret—and his own in 1509, are taken up with what Bishop Stubbs* calls "those adventures in the matrimonal market, which contribute the one serio-comic element in Henry's severely business-like reign." Amongst those whom he thought of marrying were—Joanna, Queen of Naples; Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I.; Margaret of Savoy,† Philip's sister; and after Philip's death his neglected but devoted widow, Joanna. Like the marriage proposed in 1506, between Philip's son Charles and Henry's daughter Mary, these did not come off—perhaps were not all seriously meant to; but they are important as showing Henry's willingness to take part in European affairs, and the general drift of his inclinations.

By the marriage of himself with Margaret, Henry hoped to secure the administration of Flanders, and thus the project forms one of the many forgotten projects to bring part at least of the Low Countries, with which we have always had close relations, under our control. The marriage of Henry himself with Joanna of Castile, and that of the young people, Charles and Mary—which was actually concluded by proxy in December 1508, when the bride was twelve, the groom eight years of age—were designed to bring into Henry's hands the administration of Castile, which the successive deaths of Isabella in 1504, and Philip two years later, had left kingless. Ferdinand, who naturally aspired to be Regent on behalf of his daughter or grandson, was greatly alarmed, and in self-defence was thrown into the arms of France. The various complications which ensued, did not however lead to any notable results till the following

* The references to Bishop Stubbs in this and the following three chapters are, unless otherwise specified, to his four lectures on *Henry VII.* and *Henry VIII.* contained in his *Lectures on Mediæval and Modern History*. These are mainly devoted to internal history: of which not only are the facts clearly and copiously set out, but—what is more important—the significance of each made very prominent. The references to Bacon, are to his *Life of Henry VII.*, which is published separately, with copious notes by Prof. J. R. Lumby, by the Pitt Press. The best modern biography is that by Mr. J. G. Gairdner in Messrs. Macmillan's "Twelve English Statesmen" Series.

† Called Margaret of Savoy, because after the death of her first husband, Prince John of Spain (Tree, p. 84), she had been married to Filibert of Savoy.

reign, and were then chiefly concerned with Italy (ch. ii., § 4).

Henry VII. as a Legislator.

§ 11. The dignity which Henry gave England abroad was, after all, only a complement—a valuable complement it is true—to the security he wrought within the country. Undoubtedly his best work was done at home, in not merely keeping the land he had won, but improving it by careful administration and well-designed legislation. Both were emphatically his own, however much he profited by the counsels of his old friends John Morton—whom on the death of Bourchier in 1486 he appointed Archbishop of Canterbury, and for whom seven years later he secured a Cardinal's hat,—and Richard Fox, Bishop of Ely, or however much he profited by the good service of his uncle Bedford, the Earls of Oxford and Surrey, Poynings and Warham, and the other clerics and lawyers whom he gathered round him. His legislation in particular has received this high praise from Lawyer Bacon:—

"Certainly his times for good commonwealth's laws did excel. So he may justly be celebrated for the best lawgiver to this nation; after King Edward the First; for his laws, whoso mark them well, are deep, and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times."

Henry VII. and his Parliament.

This may be high-flown: perhaps the chief merit of his laws is that they *did* so exactly fit "the particular occasion of the present." But such a qualification no more touches the kernel of the praise than do two important qualifications that must be made to the assertion that his laws were his own. In the first place, his laws, though his own by conception or by approval, were not put forth as autocratic decrees but as statutes made with due "authority of Parliament." It is true that, for reasons which we have in part already gone over (Intro., § 28), Parliament did not play a very important part in Henry VII.'s time. During the twenty-four years of his reign it met but seven times, and all but one of these sessions were held before 1497, *i.e.*, whilst the conservative cleric Morton was Henry's chief adviser. This infrequency is readily accounted

for: perhaps it was because Henry did not wish to see old controversies rekindled; perhaps because he thought the old Lancastrian reliance on Parliaments had not proved quite successful; perhaps because he felt himself strong enough to get on fairly well without them. Assuredly it was not because he had any reason to fear their criticism, much less their attacks on his policy.

Objects of Henry's Home Government.

In the second place, it was not merely good law-making, but efficient law-enforcement that Henry supplied. "Many *laws* and little *right*" had been one of the great cries against the earlier Lancastrians: Henry had the wit to devise, and the strength to put into execution, measures which should prevent that charge being cast in his teeth. Henry's first object was to secure his position, and he fully possessed the Tudor aptitude for making self-interest harmonise with popular feeling. He saw clearly enough that, in addition to removing his rivals, he must root out the disorders in local government which sprang for the most part out of the jealousies of the great baronial houses; that he must attach as many as he could to his rule by creating confidence in its stability; that, though set on the throne by a combination of nobles, he could not remain firmly seated there unless he could win the support of the middle-classes—in other words, unless he gave a lift to commerce; and, above all, that he must look well after his Exchequer.

"Local Partisanships."

§ 12. One of the greatest evils of the Fifteenth Century was the control which local magnates held and exercised over the ordinary administration of justice by the manipulation or intimidation of juries, counsel, officials, and even judges. There were two principal methods —the practices known as *Maintenance* and giving of *Liveries*. Maintenance is defined as "the act of assisting the plaintiff in any legal proceeding in which the person giving the assistance has no valuable interest." Naturally, men called to their aid the great landowners—the baron, knight, or squire; and as they no longer had *vassals*, in the strict sense of the term, owing them suit and service, they had to acquire the armed strength necessary to back their influence by gathering round them their poorer neighbours,

who wore their "liveries," and thus became their *retainers*. This "bastard Feudalism" had been struck at in various statutes from Richard II. to Richard III. but without avail. Edward IV. had tried to get at these powerful offenders by giving new powers of criminal jurisdiction to the Lord High Constable, the Earl Marshal, and the Lord Chancellor.

The Court of Star Chamber.

Henry VII., shortly after his coronation, exacted an oath from his lords to give up their evil ways: after the battle of Stoke he felt strong enough to take stronger measures. Instead of drawing on his own reserve of judicial power, as "Fountain of Justice," he obtained, in 1487, the sanction of Parliament to an act which gave a certain definite jurisdiction over *criminal* offences —analogous to the equitable jurisdiction of the Chancellor in *civil* matters—to a committee of the *Privy Council*—as the working members of the King's *Continual* or *Ordinary Council* had come to be called.

The leading facts about the court set up in virtue of stat. 3 Henry VII., c. 1, may be thus summarised:—

i. *Persons*: seven in number—*viz.*, the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Lord Privy Seal, "taking to themselves" a Bishop, a Lord Temporal, and two Justices.

ii. *Powers*: to summon before themselves, examine, and punish those charged with seven offences "whereby the policy and good rule of this realm is almost subdued," *viz.*: unlawful maintenances; giving of liveries, badges, and tokens; untrue demeaning of sheriffs in making of panels; other untrue returns; taking of money by jurors; great riots; unlawful assemblies.

iii. *Procedure*: examination of the accused on oath, by written interrogatories, and without jury or cross-examination of witnesses. [The use of torture to extract confession came later.]

iv. *Penalties*: Fines, Stocks, Pillory, Whippings, Scourging, or Branding; in fact, anything short of Death.

The court thus constituted and wielding these extensive powers was wont to sit, as the full Ordinary Council had been wont to sit when exercising its similar extraordinary powers of criminal jurisdiction, in a room with a star-spangled roof which its victims discomfortably consulted when at a loss what to say: hence probably its [un-]popular name, *the Court of Star Chamber*. It was a new court exercising old powers: as it was central and unimpeded by juries, it could

be bullied or bribed by no one—save the King. In another place (ch. xi., § 2) we shall see how in the course of time, possibly under Wolsey's influence, both its definite composition and its restricted functions so extended that it was blended into the general body of the Council and took cognisance of every kind of misdemeanour; and how, still later, what was once an instrument for the repression of social disorders became the "engine of injustice."

Extension of the sway of Law.

§ 13. The establishment or revival of the Star Chamber was far from being the only way in which the seventh Henry sought to extend that "rule of law" which the second Henry had initiated. The costliness of legal redress for wrong, which was one of the things that festered the sore of Maintenance, was partly remedied by the institution of writs for suing *in formâ pauperis*; and the Privy Council kept a sharp eye—not always it is true quite disinterestedly—on the abuses of the law which sprang from the laying of false informations, the misconduct of local officials from the J.P. downwards, and the dishonest verdicts of juries. For in those days, at least, English jurors were apt, in giving their verdicts, to think more of cash down than a quiet conscience.

Removal of Ecclesiastical Privileges.

Henry VII. further did a great deal to remove certain exemptions or refuges from the ordinary course of law which had ceased to be useful. *Benefit of Clergy* and the *Right of Sanctuary* were both severely restricted during the years 1488-9. The former was the exemption long enjoyed by clerics from criminal proceedings before a secular judge, and any one who could read was accounted a clerk. Henry enacted that a convict clerk should be branded in the hand, M. for murder, and T. for felony. The Right of Sanctuary had become so extended that a criminal could take shelter in one of the numerous sanctuaries—every church and churchyard was an asylum—for forty days, and then, after declaring his offence to the coroner, journey, cross in hand, to the coast and so escape. In return for a few compliments, Innocent VIII., "knowing himself to be lazy and unprofitable," says Bacon, gave Henry a Bull, authorising material modifications of the right: a sanctuary-man who broke out and

committed any trespass was to lose all right to such protection thenceforth; the goods of a man who was in sanctuary might be seized, and a man guilty of high treason who took refuge in sanctuary might be watched by the King's keeper. Herein Henry was supplementing the act of 1487. By the Star Chamber he was able to "bridle the stout noblemen and gentlemen," whose power had been used to the perversion of justice: in these restrictions on the "privileges of the Church," which had been turned to similar ends, he was the forerunner of his son, who was destined to subject the Clergy, as he himself had subjected the Peerage, to the paramount power of the Crown (ch. iii., §§ 2, 15). The State was, in fact, feeling itself strong enough to undertake some duties which it had once had to entrust to the Church.

Statutes of *Fines*; and of *De Facto* King.

§ 14. If Henry curbed the two higher Estates of the Realm he coddled the Third Estate. He encouraged commerce, not only by the negative methods of making more efficient the mechanism of Justice and Police, but also by the positive methods of setting credit on its legs again and otherwise promoting security of trade. Two of his earlier statutes, though primarily devised with a view to making it more profitable to adhere steadily to Henry than to waver, really conduced to that confidence in the existing *régime* which is necessary to unlock the bars of business. The *Statute of Fines* (1489) provided that after five years' unchallenged occupancy of land the title of the occupier thereto should be secure. This was necessitated by the frequent changes of ownership during the late fifty years of disturbances. Another still more important act, known as the *Statute of the* de facto *King* (1495), declared that no one who served the king for the time being should be liable to be attainted as a traitor. This was not only an amnesty for the old Yorkists, and thus an inducement to them not to countenance Perkyn Warbeck, but also an attempt to ensure against risk of loss all those who threw in their lot with the powers that were.

Ample evidence of Henry's direct interest in commerce—often exhibited in what modern economic science, with its eye on its own theories, rather than on historic facts,

regards as mistaken ways—appears both in the statute book and in his personal actions. English commerce was still in its humble beginnings. Only in the ferry-traffic across the Narrow Seas—consisting in the export of Cornish tin, of Derbyshire lead, and, above all, of wool and woolfels (*i.e.* sheepskins), and in the import of wine from Gascony, and of cloth from Flanders—was it at once exceedingly active and largely conducted by English ships and men. But even this was almost equally shared with others; and the more distant trade—with the exception of the Icelandic business of the men of Bristol—was almost wholly in the hands of foreign merchants. Of these the chief were the Venetian merchants whose "Flanders Fleet," laden with the products of Southern Europe and the East, annually called at some of our Channel ports; while the Baltic trade, in fact, the Northern trade generally, was monopolised by the merchants of the Hansa, a loose mercantile federation of cities which had factories as far apart as Cologne and Bergen, Novgorod and London, and in the fourteenth century had obtained the absolute control of all North-European commerce. The Hansards of the London settlement—called the *Steelyard*, and occupying the site of what is now Cannon Street Station—had long had to face the competition of the English Company of Merchants-Adventurers. The reign of Henry VII. witnessed the strengthening of the hands of the last named by the grant of a charter, in 1505; the making of many commercial treaties—we have noticed the chief (§ 7)—with distant Powers for the better security of our merchants; and a small forecast of our world-wide commerce. Henry's offer to engage Columbus did not reach him till after he had closed with Isabella, but in 1497 he sent out from Bristol the first of our expeditions in search of a westerly route to India. Venice and Genoa were here apparently once more pitted against one another: Columbus was probably a Genoese; the Cabots, to whom Henry gave £10 "for the discovery of the New Isle" (Newfoundland), and who were the first Europeans that, to our *certain* knowledge, set eyes on the American continent, were of Venetian descent. We were too poor and too much engrossed in other things to

Henry's Encouragement of Commerce.

follow up our initial success for many a long day. But—as we have already seen in this connection (Intro., § 20)—"coming events cast their shadow before."

§ 15. The effort towards the end of the reign to purify the currency,—thereby testifying at once to the rehabilitation of credit and to the soundness of the Tudor Government,—connects the commercial with the purely political side of Henry's Public Finance. That branch of government is in his reign, owing to his notorious economy, more largely concerned with Taxation than with Expenditure. His first Parliament (1485-6) granted him *Tunnage and Poundage*, the most ancient of our customs dues, *for life*, thereby adhering to a practice begun under Richard II., and also passed an *Act of Resumption*, whereby all recent grants of crown-domain were cancelled. His later Parliaments proved sometimes more ready to grant than their constituents to pay, the subsidies which were called for by any emergency. For it must not be forgotten that at that time both the purely personal expenses of the King and the ordinary costs of Government were supposed to be met, as far as possible, out of the regular revenues of the Crown: it was only when either or both were so excessive as to occasion frequent demands for money that Parliament thought of inquiring into expenditure. Tudor Parliaments, as we have seen (Intro., § 28), never dreamt of such a thing.

Henry's Methods of Raising Money. 1. Parliamentary.

Quickly discovering how loth the lesser men were to part with their money, Henry often chose rather to come down upon the well-to-do by non-legal, than upon the generality by legal, methods. He, therefore, supplemented parliamentary grants by what is called "arbitrary taxation." Of the many forms it takes the one most affected at this time was the *Benevolence*, a term whose irony was thus described by a contemporary: *Ut per benevolentiam, quilibet daret quod vellet, immo verius quod nollet.** Benevolences were in fact sums levied on men of substance in proportion to their wealth; they had been systematised by Edward IV.; and, though abolished by Richard III.'s

2. "Arbitrary" Methods.

* "In token of his good will, any one might give" [to the King] "what he would —I mean what he would rather not."

Parliament of 1484 as "new and unlawful inventions," they were revived by Henry VII. He even obtained a sort of legislative sanction to them when, in 1495, Parliament ordered that all sums promised to the King as gifts should be paid up in full. These promises had, in raising money for the invasion of France in 1492, been exacted by means of a piece of practical logic known as *Morton's Fork* or *Crutch*: a man must be either thrifty or extravagant; in the former case, he should give out of his hidden savings; in the latter, out of his manifest plenty. The way in which Henry made money out of the French war in 1492 has already been related (§ 6). So too at home his favourite punishment was fines: he thus made money out of his enemies if they rebelled; out of friends and enemies alike if they infringed the law. "My lord," he is recorded to have said as he passed between the long rows of retainers whom his friend the Earl of Oxford had assembled in his honour, "I thank you for your good cheer, but I may not endure to have my laws broken in my sight [§ 12]: my Attorney must speak with you;" and the outcome was a fine of £10,000.

Empson and Dudley.

His later years—in which Mr. Gairdner sees traces of deterioration in Henry, and ascribes it to the loss of his wife in 1503—were marked by the extortions of his officers, Richard Empson and Robert Dudley, a Warwickshire squire. They displayed vast ingenuity in obtaining fees for pardons and privileges, and fines for petty and forgotten offences; and thus became accounted "horse-leaches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist."

Henry's Character and Death.

§ 16. To their conduct especially is due that reputation for avarice which mars Henry's otherwise estimable character. He, like Marlborough, has often been quoted as one of the few instances of "really great men who loved money for its own sake." Without approving his methods, it is possible to think this sentence somewhat too hard. "The love of money" may be the root of all evil; but if the Lancastrian rule had any obvious lesson, it was that "the want of it was the whole tree and branches." And Henry was quite capable, had he seen it to be worth while, of spending profitably to himself

and to the nation the £1,800,000 of which, on April 22, 1509, he died possessed. The magnificence of the chapel which he built in Westminster Abbey, and wherein his body lies, is surely sufficient disproof that he was miserly.

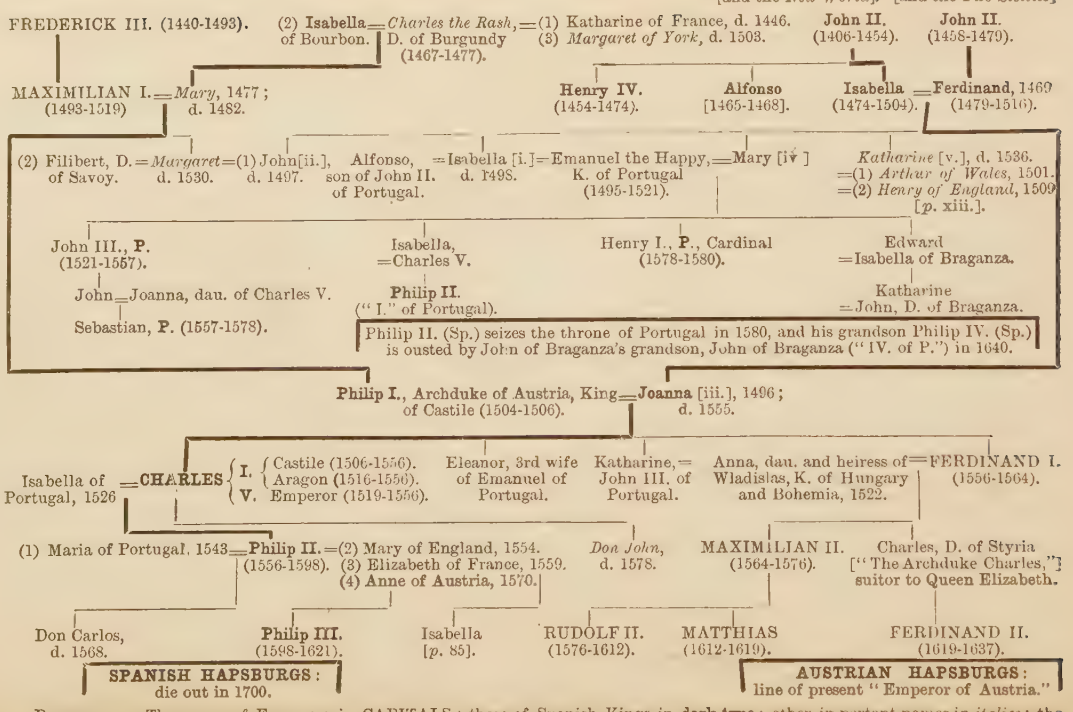
Estimate of Henry's Life-Work. 1. England and Abroad.

"Henry's reign," to quote Bishop Stubbs' summary, "bridges over the strait between the Wars of the Roses and the Reformation, between England isolated and England taking a first place in the counsels of Europe, between England weak and England strong." This contrast was mainly due to the capacity of the King himself. He has been given a place amongst the first "twelve English Statesmen," because he "stopped the seeds of sedition and rebellion" by putting down the unruly great landholders, and formed a strong monarchy based on the middle-classes. He gave England order and peace, which were the *sine quâ non* of the revival of her prosperity, and left a likelihood of their continuance in an undisputed succession. Coming to the throne under highly unfavourable conditions (Intro., § 4), he none the less firmly established his own House, and secured its position by a system of foreign alliances with which, without fighting a single battle, he both protected English interests, and gained for England a place in European politics.

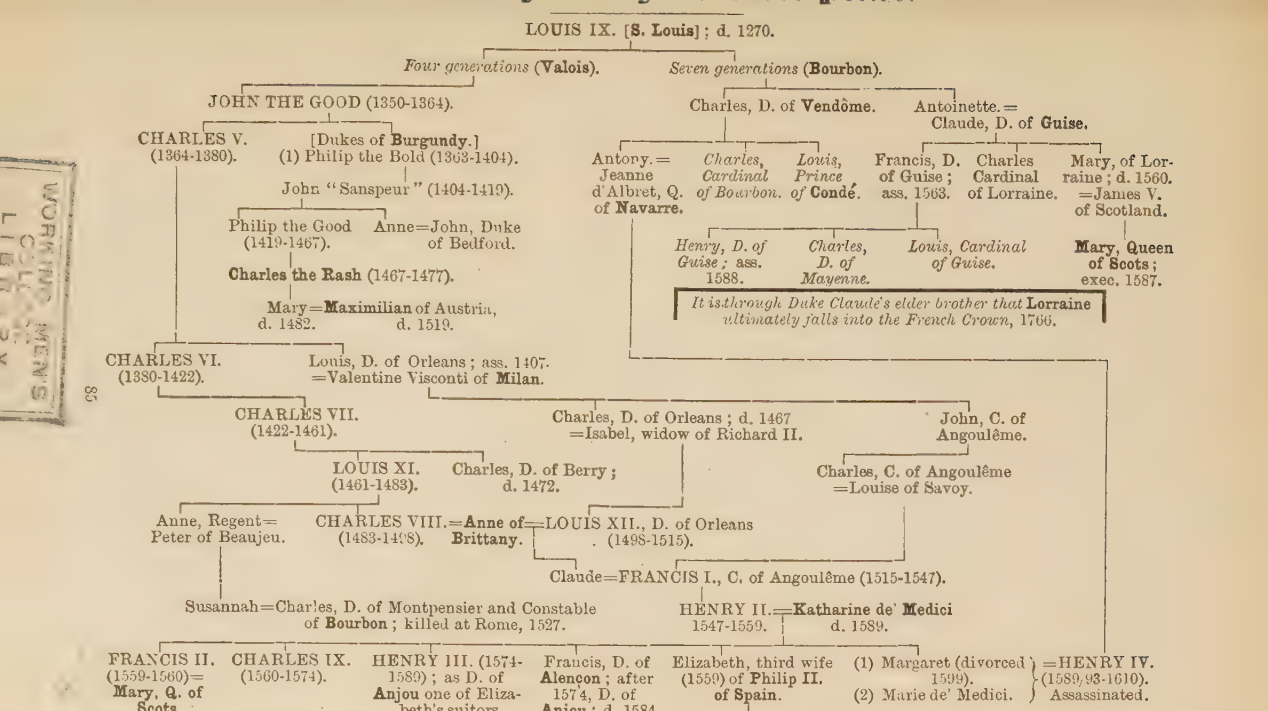
2. Ireland and Scotland.

His policy towards Scotland and Ireland seems to give him yet further claims to be considered a great statesman. By the two best known portions of Poynings' Law, 1495, he established the machinery of a formal control over Irish affairs which must not be condemned merely because that control was, in point of fact, badly used; while he met the practical difficulties of the time by leaving the chief power there in the hands of a man who, as he found by experience, gave most peace to Ireland (ch. x., § 4). As regards Scotland, he tried to secure present harmony by the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV. (1503); and he foresaw that, in case this led to future union, "the greater would draw the less, and that it was a safer union for England than that of France." These are the achievements that have won him the title —fitting enough, but that it savours of an ostentation foreign to his character—"the Solomon of England."

The Descent of Charles V.


AUSTRIA, etc.
THE NETHERLANDS, etc.
CASTILE [and the New World].
ARAGON [and the Two Sicilies]
FREDERICK III. (1440-1493).
(2) Isabella of Bourbon.
Charles the Rash, D. of Burgundy (1467-1477).
(1) Katharine of France, d. 1446.
(3) Margaret of York, d. 1503.
John II. (1406-1454).
John II. (1458-1479).
MAXIMILIAN I. (1493-1519)
Mary, 1477; d. 1482.
Henry IV. (1454-1474).
Alfonso [1465-1468].
Isabella (1474-1504).
Ferdinand, 1469 (1479-1516).
(2) Filibert, D. of Savoy.
Margaret d. 1530.
(1) John[ii.], d. 1497.
Alfonso, son of John II. of Portugal.
Isabella [i.] d. 1498.
Emanuel the Happy, K. of Portugal (1495-1521).
Mary [iv.]
Katharine [v.], d. 1536.
=(1) Arthur of Wales, 1501.
=(2) Henry of England, 1509 [p. xiii.].
John III., P. (1521-1557).
Isabella, =Charles V.
Henry I., P., Cardinal (1578-1580).
Edward =Isabella of Braganza.
John=Joanna, dau. of Charles V.
Sebastian, P. (1557-1578).
Philip II. ("I." of Portugal).
Katharine =John, D. of Braganza.
Philip II. (Sp.) seizes the throne of Portugal in 1580, and his grandson Philip IV. (Sp.) is ousted by John of Braganza's grandson, John of Braganza ("IV. of P.") in 1640.
Philip I., Archduke of Austria, King of Castile (1504-1506).
Joanna [iii.], 1496; d. 1555.
Isabella of Portugal, 1526
CHARLES I. Castile (1506-1556). Aragon (1516-1556). V. Emperor (1519-1556).
Eleanor, 3rd wife of Emanuel of Portugal.
Katharine, John III. of Portugal.
Anna, dau. and heiress of Wladislas, K. of Hungary and Bohemia, 1522.
FERDINAND I. (1556-1564).
(1) Maria of Portugal, 1543
Philip II. (1556-1598).
(2) Mary of England, 1554.
(3) Elizabeth of France, 1559.
(4) Anne of Austria, 1570.
Don John, d. 1578.
MAXIMILIAN II. (1564-1576).
Charles, D. of Styria ["The Archduke Charles,"] suitor to Queen Elizabeth.
Don Carlos, d. 1568.
Philip III. (1598-1621).
Isabella [p. 85].
RUDOLF II. (1576-1612).
MATTHIAS (1612-1619).
FERDINAND II. (1619-1637).
SPANISH HAPSBURGS: die out in 1700.
AUSTRIAN HAPSBURGS: line of present "Emperor of Austria."

DIRECTIONS.—The names of Emperors in CAPITALS; those of Spanish Kings in **dark type**; other in portant names in *italics*; the dates within brackets denote regnal years; dates unenclosed give the year of marriage; Arabic figures within round brackets show *order of marriage*; Roman numerals within square brackets show *order of birth*; the thick lines show the descent of Charles V.


LOUIS IX. [S. Louis]; d. 1270.
Four generations (Valois).
Seven generations (Bourbon).
JOHN THE GOOD (1350-1364).
Charles, D. of Vendôme.
Antoinette.= Claude, D. of Guise.
CHARLES V. (1364-1380).
[Dukes of Burgundy.]
(1) Philip the Bold (1363-1404).
Antony.= Jeanne d'Albret, Q. of Navarre.
Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon.
Louis, Prince of Condé.
Francis, D. of Guise; ass. 1563.
Charles Cardinal of Lorraine.
Mary, of Lorraine; d. 1560. =James V. of Scotland.
John "Sanspeur" (1404-1419).
Henry, D. of Guise; ass. 1588.
Charles, D. of Mayenne.
Louis, Cardinal of Guise.
Mary, Queen of Scots; exec. 1587.
Philip the Good (1419-1467).
Anne=John, Duke of Bedford.
It is through Duke Claude's elder brother that Lorraine ultimately falls into the French Crown, 1766.
Charles the Rash (1467-1477).
Mary=Maximilian of Austria, d. 1482. d. 1519.
CHARLES VI. (1380-1422).
Louis, D. of Orleans; ass. 1407. =Valentine Visconti of Milan.
CHARLES VII. (1422-1461).
Charles, D. of Orleans; d. 1467 =Isabel, widow of Richard II.
John, C. of Angoulême.
LOUIS XI. (1461-1483).
Charles, D. of Berry; d. 1472.
Charles, C. of Angoulême =Louise of Savoy.
Anne, Regent= Peter of Beaujeu.
CHARLES VIII.=Anne of Brittany. (1483-1498).
=LOUIS XII., D. of Orleans (1498-1515).
Claude=FRANCIS I., C. of Angoulême (1515-1547).
Susannah=Charles, D. of Montpensier and Constable of Bourbon; killed at Rome, 1527.
HENRY II.=Katharine de' Medici 1547-1559. d. 1589.
FRANCIS II. (1559-1560)= Mary, Q. of Scots.
CHARLES IX. (1560-1574).
HENRY III. (1574-1589); as D. of Anjou one of Elizabeth's suitors.
Francis, D. of Alençon; after 1574, D. of Anjou; d. 1584.
Elizabeth, third wife (1559) of Philip II. of Spain.
Infanta Isabella.
(1) Margaret (divorced 1599).
(2) Marie de' Medici.
=HENRY IV. (1589,93-1610). Assassinated.

DIRECTIONS.—French kings are printed in CAPITALS (their regnal years being enclosed within brackets); the more important names titles, and territories are shown in **dark type**; and Henry of Navarre's chief rivals for the throne are distinguished by *italics*.

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CHAPTER II.

HENRY VIII. AND CARDINAL WOLSEY.

1509—1529.

§ 1. Henry's personality; the New Learning in England; the Oxford Reformers—Colet, Erasmus, More.—§ 2. The Oxford Reformers during Henry VIII.'s Early Years.—§ 3. Henry and the New Learning; his Marriage.—§ 4. Henry and the Holy League, 1511—13.—§ 5. Flodden Field; Peace with Louis XII.—§ 6. Thomas Wolsey: (*a*) His Rise and Character.—§ 7. (*b*) His Home Policy in State and Church.—§ 8 (*c*) His Foreign Policy, 1515—18.—§ 9. The Vacancy in the Emperorship, 1519: its importance.—§ 10. The Rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I.—its Causes and Conditions; Charles V. and the Reformation.—§ 11. Competition for Henry's Support, 1520—21; Luther; Buckingham.—§ 12. The Alliance between Charles and Henry, 1521—25.—§ 13. The Alliance between Francis and Henry, 1527.—§ 14. The Beginning of the Divorce Question: Pretexts and Motives.—§ 15. The Divorce: Earlier stages; Points at issue; and Unpopularity.—§ 16. The Divorce: International Aspects and the Legatine Commission.—§ 17. The Fall of Wolsey, October 1529.—§ 18. Appreciation of Wolsey; his Death, November 1530.

Henry VIII.'s Personal Traits.

§ 1. Henry VIII. came to the throne a promising youth of eighteen with everything in his favour. He was the first English king for a century who was not hampered by rival claimants to the Crown (cf. ch. i., § 1). He took over a full treasury and a well-trained body of advisers like Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Archbishop Warham, and Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey. He himself enjoyed a well-deserved popularity. He combined his father's resoluteness and business-capacity with the winsome ways and love of pleasure that had been so prominent in his mother's father, Edward IV. Altogether, he was a handsome and accomplished man, with a

character from which, as his enemy Cardinal Pole (ch. iv., § 6) allowed, nothing but good could be expected. Several years after his accession he was described by Giustiniani in words which, being part of a despatch to the Venetian Government, are presumably disinterested, and which are certainly worthy of their meed of frequent quotation:—

"His Majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not well have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom—a great deal more so than the King of France: he is very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. Learning that Francis I. wore a beard, he let his own grow, and his beard, being reddish, looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a splendid horseman; a fine jouster; is a master of French, Latin and Spanish; is very religious—hearing three masses a day when he hunts, and four or five on other days, and attending vesper and compline in the Queen's chamber. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. He is extremely fond of tennis: it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."

The New Learning in England.

Amongst those who expected a "new order" from the youth, educated tastes, and manifold activity of Henry VIII. were the men of the New Learning. We have already surveyed the general features of this side of the Renascence (Intro., §§ 18, 19): we may now look a little closer into the shape it was taking in England. For considerably over a century an Englishman here and there—Chaucer and "Good Duke Humfrey" of Gloucester, for instance—had been affected by Italian culture; and Edward IV. and many of his nobles had patronised the first English printers, Caxton, and his successor, Wynken de Worde. In the last decade of the Fifteenth Century the movement became wider and deeper, mainly through the efforts of a group of men who found themselves together at Oxford. In 1491 William Grocyn returned thither, and introduced the study of Greek which he himself had acquired at Florence under the Greek exile Chalcondylas. A few years later Thomas Linacre came back from Italy to teach Oxford and Prince Arthur Greek and Medicine. Meanwhile, there were at Magdalen two others who had learnt Greek abroad—John Colet at Florence and William Lilly at Rhodes. In 1497 Erasmus, a Dutch

student, too poor to go to Italy for his Greek, came to Oxford, and became one of the foremost Greek scholars of the day, as well as the friend of the above-named, and of Thomas More. "When I listen to my friend Colet," wrote Erasmus, "it seems like listening to Plato himself. In Grocyn who does not admire the wide range of his knowledge? What can be more searching, deep, and refined than the judgment of Linacre? Whenever did nature mould a character more gentle, endearing and happy than Thomas More?"

The Oxford Reformers.

The bond between these men was their interest in Greek: to some it was almost an end in itself; to others it was a means toward a fresh and better educational curriculum; to Colet it was the key which opened the New Testament, and enabled him to get an acquaintance at first hand, as it were, with Christ and S. Paul, instead of the scholastic summaries of their systems. The people who found Oxford as it was cosy and comfortable, looked askance on the little band of enthusiasts who strove to make it better; nicknamed them "Greeks"—just as another such group two centuries later were nicknamed "Methodists"; and spread abroad the warning "*Beware of the Greeks, or you will become a heretic!*"

Dean Colet of S. Paul's.

Colet was no heretic: he was only another S. Anselm—angry because the clergy set so ill an example in their lives, and because the laity seemed to imagine that a regular attendance at confession, the repetition of prayers before a favourite image, and the like, formed the whole duty of a Christian. Colet, himself drawing from the head-waters of the Christian writings, preached conviction against mere conformity: let men grip "the Apostles' Creed, and about the rest let divines dispute as they will." About the same time (1491–1498) Girolamo Savonarola was thundering out a similar message at S. Mark's, Florence; but he attacked the Pope's immorality and Gallophile policy, and, lacking a protector, was put to death as a heretic. "A prophet must be armed to be triumphant," noted Savonarola's compatriot Machiavelli. Colet *was* armed—with the protection of the young king, who made him a Court-preacher, and Archbishop Warham,

who put him on to tell the clergy in Convocation their faults to their faces. In 1505 he had become Dean of S. Paul's, and five years later he founded the still flourishing S. Paul's School, and set over it his old Oxford friend William Lilly to work out his educational ideas. Above all, he was to "let gentleness his strong enforcement be."

The Oxford Reformers, 1509—1516.

§ 2. The "Oxford Reformers," as they have been called,* were dispersed about 1500. Soon after Henry VIII.'s accession they were in part reassembled, and in high favour with the King. Erasmus came back from Italy, and, through the instrumentality of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, the Lady Margaret's spiritual director, was made the first Professor of Divinity at Cambridge on her foundation. In 1511, before going down to his new post, he sang the praises of the good time coming in his *Moriae Enconium*, or, *Praise of Folly*. Five years later he published at Basel his Greek text of the New Testament. His object was that inspired by Colet—to go behind the glosses of the Schoolmen, find out what the Founder and first formulators of Christianity really said, and call attention to the central points. So, too, Cardinal Ximenes, the Primate and foremost statesman in Spain, had in 1514 issued a Greek text of the New Testament at the University of Alcala (part of what is known as "the Complutensian Polyglot"), with the intention "to revive the hitherto dormant study of the Sacred Scriptures," to enable "every theologian to drink of the water that springeth up to eternal life at the fountain-head itself." Erasmus went further: in his preface he expressed a wish that the Bible should be read and understood "not only by Scots and Irishmen, but also by Turks and Saracens," that "the peasant should sing bits of it as he followed the plough, and that the weaver should hum them to the tune of his shuttle." These men did not wish to cut themselves adrift from the existing Church-system: what they sought was to perpetuate that system by reviving the

* By Mr. F. Seebohm, who has published a book under that title. Green's *Short History*, ch. VI., § iv., contains a masterly sketch with copious quotations of the whole movement. Bishop Creighton, in the third and fourth volumes of his *History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation*, has luminously treated of the Italian Renascence. For Savonarola read also George Eliot's *Romola*: for Erasmus, Charles Reade's *Cloister and the Hearth*.

spirit which had evaporated from it (cf. Intro., § 22). In the year after the appearance of Erasmus's Greek Testament, Luther began his reforming career, and as we have seen (Intro., §§ 21, 23), allowed his desire for a better future to overcome his reverence for the past, and a few years later Erasmus could "see no end of it but the turning upside down of the whole world." "*Erasmus laid the egg, and I hatched it*," Luther once pleaded, with a reference to their original accord on the subject of ecclesiastical abuses; and Erasmus rightly enough retorted, "*The fowl hatched by Luther was of quite a different breed from the egg I laid.*"

Political and Social Ideals of Erasmus and More.

But the New Learning in England was not confined to the mockery of monks and the popularisation of the Bible. Elsewhere it was apt to be merely intellectual: here it endeavoured "to see life steadily and see it whole." It set itself to care for men's bodies as well as their souls: to make life brighter for even the poorest by material, as well as by spiritual, aids. Colet denounced Henry VIII.'s wars to his face, as harmful to his people. Erasmus and More entered into the service of the State: Erasmus became counsellor to the Archduke Charles—who lived in the Netherlands till the death of his maternal grandfather Ferdinand in 1516; and More became one of Henry VIII.'s most intimate friends, and, after going on several missions, was created a Privy Councillor a short time before his friend Colet's death in 1519. Both Erasmus and More gave utterance to views on politics which contrast strangely with those which were about this time being formulated by Machiavelli, one of the men of the Italian Renascence, in his famous book on *The Prince*. Erasmus in his *Christian Prince* urged that, as the king was, in the long run, appointed *by* the nation, so he should live and rule *for* the nation, not *on* the nation. And More, in his *Utopia*—written in Latin, printed in Germany 1516, but not Englished till 1551—while professing to give an account of an island visited by one of Amerigo Vespucci's comrades (cf. Intro., § 20), really satirises the existing situation, and throws out a multitude of suggestions for a better government in England. The Utopians chose both King and Council; avoided aggressive war; saw that every

one had both work and wages, or if he could not work had subsistence; in fact had such beautiful Labour-, Crime-, Education-, Land-, and Church-systems, that every one was always happy. Dreams? Yes, but "at daybreak dreams come true," and some of More's have come, or are coming, true; and however much More was before his time, it was a great thing to see so clearly what needed doing, to suggest noble ways of doing it. More himself was under no misapprehension as to the immediate realisation of his ideal: "There are many things," he wound up, "in the commonwealth of Nowhere which I rather wish than hope to see adopted, in our own." *

§ 3. Henry was in sympathy with the new movement. He liked the gaiety which these new scholars encouraged, in opposition to the recluse-like habits of the older type of student. And he approved of the demand for reform of the Church, nor was his opinion without value. Theologian as he was—there is a story that he was brought up with a view to the Primacy—he joined Warham in protecting Colet when accused of heresy for attacking the clergy, and for distinguishing between the voice of Christ and the voice of the Church. But he would not devote his life to the execution of the ideas of the New Learning. "From the prince, as from a perpetual well-spring," More wrote in his *Utopia*, "cometh among the people the flood of all that is good and evil. . . . But most princes have more delight in war than in the good feats of peace: they study much more how by right or wrong to enlarge their dominions than how well and peaceably to govern that they have already." So it was with Henry: to the work of social regeneration lauded by More he preferred martial glory and popular adulation—he was no philosopher-king.

Henry's Earlier Acts.

Henry began his reign with two acts which seemed like a

* *Ideal Commonwealths*, forming vol. xxiii. of "Morley's Universal Library," contains More's *Utopia* and several other similar treatises. Ralf Robinson's translation has been reprinted by Mr. Edward Arber. Amongst more modern essays, in the same line, may be mentioned Lytton's *Coming Race*; Mr. Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward*; Sir Julius Vogel's "2000 A.D."; and Mr. William Morris's *Earthly Paradise*. A translation of Machiavelli's *Prince* also appears in "Morley's Universal Library" (vol. vi.), and a helpful commentary thereon will be found in Macaulay's classical *Essay on Machiavelli*.

deliberate abandonment of his father's policy. To win popularity, he imprisoned many of Henry VII.'s legal and financial agents. The chief among them, Empson and Dudley (ch. i., § 15), defended themselves so well on the charge of illegal exactions that an accusation of conspiring to compass the new King's death was trumped up against them. They were convicted by a jury and attainted by Parliament, and after a long respite were executed in August 1510. Parliament also defined more clearly several points of law whose ambiguity had been used by the two lawyers to make money.

Henry marries his brother's widow Katharine.

The other act was the completion of the marriage with Katharine of Aragon (ch. i., § 9), which had been delayed on various grounds — the non-payment of the balance of the dowry, Henry's expressed unwillingness to marry her, etc. Henry had, however, fallen in love with the lady; and so, despite the disparity of age—he was nineteen, while she was twenty-five—and Warham's objections, he persisted in marrying her in June 1509. In view of later controversies (§§ 14-16), it is worth noticing that at the wedding Katharine was dressed in white and wore her hair loose—"ceremonies appropriate," says Lingard, "to the nuptials of maids." The marriage seems to have been entirely the result of mutual affection, not of the political expediency of continued friendship with Spain.

Henry joins *The Holy League.*

§ 4. Henry's foreign policy, if, like these acts at home, more impulsive than the late King's, was at least on his father's lines. Henry VII.'s last interference with Continental affairs had been to give in his adhesion to the *League of Cambray*, contrived by the warlike Pope, Julius II., against Venice in December 1508. As the Pope's object was simply to make the States of the Church the leading Italian Power, he readily accepted the submission of Venice when it had lost its land possessions (February 1510), and made the refusal of France to do the same an excuse for breaking with that State, and for setting his late allies generally by the ears. This time his aim was, in his own phrase, "*to expel the Barbarians from Italy*"; and as the "Barbarians" were in this case the

French, he easily formed into a *Holy League* to protect himself all who hoped for any territorial gain at the expense of France. The new coalition was, before the end of **1511**, joined by Ferdinand, Henry, and Maximilian; and Henry was flattered by being named "Most Christian King," and "Head of the Italian League." The really decisive event of the war was the disastrous victory of the French at Ravenna (April 11, **1512**), gained over Spanish and Papal troops at the cost of the brilliant young commander Gaston de Foix, whose death was quickly followed by the expulsion of the French from Northern Italy. Thus Louis XII.'s acquisition of the Milanese (which he had already conquered, lost, and won again within a few months at the very beginning of his reign, **1499—1500**) shared the fate of his predecessor's acquisition of Naples, where Ferdinand of Aragon had finally made good his hold in **1505** (ch. i., § 9).

English Invasions of France, 1512—1513.

Outside Italy the war took a national form, though by distracting Louis' attention it helped the Pope, and so justified its name. Henry reasserted the old claim to the French crown, and in support of it made two invasions of France. The first was directed to the conquest of Guienne: the second to that of Normandy. In **1512** the Marquis of Dorset was sent with seven thousand troops to co-operate with Ferdinand in the South of France; but his men were mutinous; and he kept his troops at Fuentarabia rather than help Ferdinand's generals in conquering that part of Navarre which lay south of the Pyrenees (Intro., § 13). Whilst this was going on the English Lord High Admiral, Sir Edward Howard (Table, p. 202), gained a small naval victory off Brest, but lost the finest vessel of the fleet, *The Regent.* Next year he lost his life near the same place, and was succeeded by his brother, Lord Thomas Howard.

During the winter Louis secured breathing-space from both Ferdinand and Julius. Henry's ardour was unquenched, and in June **1513**, he himself crossed the Channel, leaving his Queen in charge of the government and endeavouring to secure her from internal disturbances by the execution of that Earl of Suffolk whose extradition we have already mentioned (ch. i., § 7). With some twenty-five

thousand men Henry besieged the fortress-town of Terouenne, near Calais. The Emperor Maximilian joined him as a volunteer, at one hundred crowns a day; and it was largely through him that, after over a month's siege—during which an attempt of the French cavalry to relieve the place resulted in a panic near Guinegatte, known as the *Battle of Spurs*—Terouenne surrendered in August. A month later the populous neighbouring town of Tournay fell. With these expensive laurels and the renewal of the marriage-compact between Maximilian's grandson Charles and his sister Mary (ch. i., § 10), Henry returned to England.

Flodden Field, September 9, 1513.

§ 5. Meanwhile war had broken out with James IV. of Scotland, brother-in-law though he was to Henry. The cause was the old perennial Franco-Scottish alliance. The particular pretexts were trivial enough: the non-delivery of certain jewels left to Margaret; and the death of a Scots privateer, named Andrew Barton, in an action with the Howards. To these must be added the solicitations of Louis XII. and of his wife, Anne of Brittany, whom he had taken the precaution to marry on the death of her first husband, his predecessor (ch. i., § 6; Table, p. 85). After several forays on either side, James IV. crossed the Border with a large force and an exceptionally fine park of artillery of seventeen pieces. In addition to these advantages he occupied a strong position on the hill of Flodden, on the banks of the river Till, when he was attacked, defeated and slain, by the Earl of Surrey, who was rewarded in the following year by the restoration of his father's dukedom of Norfolk. The Scots, having lost eight thousand against the English loss of six thousand, retreated next day.*

Peace with Louis XII., August 1514.

Active preparations were made for continuing the war; but Julius II. had in March 1513 been succeeded by the peace-loving Medici, Leo X., and the ostensible object of the war was gained when Louis XII. yielded most of the points at issue with the Holy See before the end of the year. During the winter Louis also made it worth the while of both the

* The story of Flodden is celebrated in Scott's *Marmion*, and in *Edinburgh after Flodden*, one of Professor Aytoun's stirring "Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers."

King of Aragon and the Emperor to cease active operations. Henry VIII. was left in the lurch, as Henry VII. had been in 1492 (ch. i., § 6); and, seeing that his father's hoard and heavy extraordinary subsidies were already spent, he was willing to make peace "if he received an equivalent for his inheritance of France." Accordingly, in August 1514, three treaties were signed, whereby Louis pledged himself—

(i.) To make a life alliance with Henry.
(ii.) To marry Henry's sister Mary, whose pre-contract with Charles had already been broken off.
(iii.) To pay to Henry and his heirs, by thirty-eight half-yearly instalments, the sum of one million crowns.
(iv.) To join hands with Henry against Ferdinand: Navarre was to be conquered for Louis; Castile for Henry.

Affairs of Scotland, 1514—1520.

About the same time peace was made with Scotland, which was now under the Regency of the Queen-Dowager Margaret. The latter had, however, the Tudor *penchant* for wedlock, and soon married Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus. She thus lost her influence, and was supplanted by the Duke of Albany, who was French in birth and breeding. The latter was, late in 1516, ordered by the new King of France, Francis I., to retire; and his departure restored the country to a nominal obedience to Angus and the Queen-Dowager (§ 12, and Table, p. xiii.).

Rise of Wolsey, 1513—1517.

§ 6. The year of these partial pacifications was also marked by the elevation of Thomas Wolsey to the See of York, and his distinct appearance as the leading adviser to the King. The son of an Ipswich grazier—hence Skelton's * jeers at his "base progeny and his greasy genealogy"—Wolsey had, thanks to his own energy and the kindness of many patrons, risen rapidly in the favour of Henry VII. (Appendix v.). As almoner to Henry VIII., he commended himself to the young king by his readiness, without neglecting business, to take part—not always with decorum—in the ceaseless

* In *Why Come ye not to Courte?* Skelton had previously denounced Wolsey in *Speke Parrot*, and returns to the same subject in *Colin Clout*. Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey* (published in "Morley's Universal Library") is the work of a friend. Bishop Creighton has contributed a life to Macmillan's "Twelve English Statesmen" Series.

revels and frolics of the Court. His brilliant organisation of the campaign of 1513 made his fortune. Preferment after preferment was poured on him at home: the highest civil office—that of Lord Chancellor—was transferred from Warham to him in 1515; a few months earlier Leo X. had tried to win his voice in the Council by making him Cardinal; three years later he was, at the King's request, invested with the power of Papal Legate. That position had, ever since the Angevin period, been held by the Archbishop of Canterbury as *Legatus natus*: Wolsey was *Legatus a latere* (*i.e.*, sent specially "from the side" of the Pope), and thus was lifted above the head of Warham in the Church as he had already been in the State. More than this, the years during which Wolsey was thus supreme in both secular and ecclesiastical matters (1515—1529) were precisely those during which Henry was still capable of being guided, whereas for the rest of the reign no minister was more than a mere instrument of a king who had learnt that he could do what he liked, and who did not shrink from doing it.

Character of Wolsey.

Wolsey's chief characteristic was his enormous power of work. Equally at home in diplomacy, in finance, in justice, and in both civil and military administration, he was no less thorough than varied. Here is a description of him, as he was in 1519, from the same pen as the description of Henry himself already cited (§ 1):—

"He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices and councils of Venice both civil and criminal; and all State affairs are managed by him, let their nature be what they may. He is pensive, and has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all indigent persons. He is in very high repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope. It is he who rules both the King and the entire kingdom. . . . On the ambassador's first arrival in England he used to say *His Majesty will do so and so;* subsequently he went on forgetting himself, and commenced saying *We shall do so and so;* at present he has reached such a pitch that he says *I shall do so and so.*"

Wolsey's Home Policy: 1. State.

§ 7. In home affairs Wolsey held faithfully by the principles of the New Monarchy. As he himself said on his death-bed, he served his prince more diligently even than he served his God. He followed the later policy of Henry VII. (ch. i., § 11) in avoiding Parliaments. Each of the six years which passed between Henry VIII.'s accession and the elevation of Wolsey to the Chancellorship in 1515 witnessed the assembling of a Parliament, but from that time to Wolsey's fall in 1529 only one was summoned, in 1523; and the result of the experiment was not encouraging to him. On the top of a long series of loans and benevolences there came the demand for £800,000 for the French war, to be raised by a tax of one-fifth on every man's goods and lands. Wolsey attempted to overawe the Commons by going "with all his pomp, his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his cross, his belt, and the Great Seal too." The Speaker, Sir Thomas More—although at that time the Speaker was, as Bishop Stubbs says, "the manager of business on behalf of the Crown, and probably the nominee either of the King himself or the Chancellor"—had to represent to him that it was contrary to their ancient liberties to be thus constrained; but after sixteen days' debate a grant of one-tenth was made. "No man in my life," said a member of the Commons, "can remember even half as large a grant."

When two years later more money was required for war-purposes, instead of asking Parliament, an "Amicable Loan" was demanded: the sum being fixed at one-fourth from the clergy, and one-sixth from the laity, on the basis of Wolsey's scientific assessment of 1523. There was at once an outcry that "if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond not free." The demand was, therefore, on the advice of the Duke of Norfolk, withdrawn after "the shedding of many salt tears"—and some blood in the eastern counties. Wolsey was unjustly cursed as "the putter on of the exaction"; and, to shield the King, he accepted the unpopularity. Henry, like Machiavelli's model prince, well knew how to take credit to himself for

favours done, and to father his mistakes and harshnesses on his ministers. "Every man," as Wolsey sadly pleaded, "layeth the burden from him; and I am content to take it on me and to endure the fame and the noise of the people—but the Eternal God knoweth all."

Quite consistent with Wolsey's distrust of Parliament and his adoption of "arbitrary" methods of raising money, was his extensive use of the Council, to avoid, perhaps, the dangerous *appearance* of absolutism. At any rate, it was—according to Sir Thomas Smith—under Wolsey that the Star Chamber "took that augmentation and authority" which made it interfere with the pettiest details of a man's daily life, and gradually won for it so much hatred (cf. ch. i., § 12).

2. Church.

Wolsey used his power as Legate not so much to reform religion—he was too much absorbed as a man of the world with things secular to care much about that—but rather to improve the position of the Church as an institution. He therefore did not hesitate to take on his shoulders, in addition to his ordinary judicial and administrative business, the immense task of attempting to correct clerical abuses. Like Cardinal Morton, he saw the "incurable uselessness" of so many religious houses whose inmates were generally ignorant, and often idle, if not dissolute. Backed by a Papal Bull and the King's consent, he began in 1524 to suppress a number of such houses, and to devote their revenues to the furtherance of the New Learning. His college at Ipswich fell with him: the cardinal's hat which is carven here and there about Christ Church, Oxford, is an abiding monument of the great "Cardinal College" he set about founding at Oxford. He took another step in the same direction, when, in 1528-9, he obtained Bulls authorising the suppression of more monasteries with a view to the foundation and endowment of twenty-one new bishoprics.

Wolsey's Foreign Policy, 1515-18.

§ 8. Wolsey's real interest and highest genius, however, were displayed in foreign politics. Unfortunately for him he had here, as elsewhere, to subordinate himself to his master, who wished to attain by war a dominant position in Europe, which Wolsey,

like most great English statesmen, believed could be better attained by peace—not by active interference so much as by the threat of interference. His object was, in Bishop Stubbs' words, "to make England an umpire between great rival parties on the Continent, from whose humiliation nothing was to be gained, and from whose over-exaltation something was to be feared." But beneath this common ideal of the time there possibly lay his personal ambition to obtain the papal tiara. It is time to see how Wolsey's influence affected the attitude of England.

The new Kings of France and Spain, 1515-16.

The years immediately following the peace with France in **1514** are years of little importance in the history of England, but—to say nothing of Luther's outburst (Intro., § 21)—of much intricacy in European affairs. Louis XII.'s efforts to please his young wife—he was fifty-three, while Mary was but sixteen—brought his life to a close on the first day of **1515**, or within three months after his marriage; and after a still smaller interval his widow, who had married Louis to please Henry only on condition that she should be allowed to choose her second husband for herself, married her old lover, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk. Louis XII.'s successor, Francis I., began his reign, as Henry had done, by throwing himself into war, but with greater success. "The monarchy of Christendom," he boasted, "shall rest under the banner of France, as it was wont to do." By the *Battle of the Giants*, at Marignano (September 14, 15, **1515**), he broke down the hitherto unchallenged prestige of the Swiss pikemen, reconquered the Milanese, threatened the Papacy, and terrified Europe. Wolsey's Cardinal's hat was a bid from Leo X. for his goodwill with Henry. Soon afterwards Maximilian made a fantastic proposal with the same end in view: Henry was to receive Milan and become Emperor, while he himself became Pope.

The Peace of London, 1518.

Henry needed no such incitements against Francis: he was jealous of a king who was his rival in his own cherished fields of superiority — gallantry and war. For the present, however, he contented himself with subsidising the Continental enemies of Francis. But in **1516** Francis came to terms with the Swiss, made the *Concrodat of*

Bologna with Pope Leo, and signed the *Treaty of Noyon* with Charles I., who had just succeeded, on the death of Ferdinand I., to the Spanish dominions of both his maternal grandparents. Two years later, the threatening attitude of the Ottoman conqueror, Selim I., forced the Western Powers, England, France and Spain, to enter into a confederacy whereby each bound himself to support the others against any aggressor, even if one of themselves. By this *Peace of London*, October 1518, the ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, which began with the League of Cambray, were brought to a close. No one was any the better for it: to all the conflicting Powers the judgment which has been applied to England can be justly applied—"Honesty would have been the simpler and cheaper policy."

The Vacancy in the Emperorship, 1519.

§ 9. The vacancy in the Emperorship caused by the death of Maximilian in the following year was an event of European, one might almost say world-wide, importance. The Elector of Saxony, Frederick the Wise, Luther's protector (Intro., § 23), having declined to stand, three competitors were found for the throne of Augustus: Charles I. of Spain, Francis I. of France, and Henry VIII. of England. Henry, quickly seeing that he had no chance, supported Charles, who, by the liberal expenditure of money and promises, obtained the seven votes of the electoral college, and was chosen German King on June 28, 1519. He followed his paternal grandfather Maximilian's precedent, and took the title of Charles V., "Emperor-elect" (Intro., § 9). The choice offered and the choice made are alike highly significant. That a Fleming, a Frenchman and an Englishman should have competed illustrates the survival of the theory that the Empire was, as it were, supra-national. That the choice devolved on Charles illustrates men's consciousness of the fact that the Empire was a German affair. Henry pleaded that the English language was German, while the French language was "Welsh" (cf. Intro., § 1): the decisive fact, bribes apart, was that, though by birth and breeding a foreigner, Charles was, as Archduke of Austria, at once a German Prince and committed in self-defence to help in the protection of the Eastern frontier, which the new Sultan,

Suleiman the Lawgiver (1519), was sure to emulate his predecessors in attacking.

The election of Charles V. had an immediate effect on the State-system, a more remote but also more enduring effect on the Church-system, of Western Europe. Charles V. was the central point in which, as the Table on p. 84 shows, no less than four princely houses met. By this fact the shifting coalitions that date from 1494 are at once simplified down to a duel. The rivalry between Charles and Francis, begun on the question as to who should be Caesar, not only lasted their life-time but also started that almost permanent conflict between the defensive and conservative House of Austria, and aggressive progressive France, which is to-day represented by the hostility between the Triple Alliance and the French Republic. Let us look a little more closely into the causes and conditions of this rivalry than we were able to do in our preliminary survey (Intro., § 17).

The Rivalry between Charles V. and Francis I.: 1. Its Significance.

§ 10. First, the causes of the rivalry. In every capacity shown on p. 84, in each division of the vast inheritance shown on the map at the beginning of this volume, Charles had interests opposed to Francis. He represented both the Aragonese Ferdinand who, after sharing Naples with France in 1500, had ousted his partner in 1505; and the House of Burgundy from which France had wrested the Duchy in 1477, and over whose counties of Flanders and Artois France claimed a suzerainty that it might one day try once more to make effective. Charles, as Emperor, resented the intrusion of France for the third time into the Imperial fief of Milan no less keenly than Francis, as a kinsman of the old Navarrese royal family, resented the Aragonese conquest of Southern Navarre in 1512. These were present quarrels; but by sending Verrazzano in 1523 to spy out the Spanish preserves in the West Indies, Francis gave an unconscious and unheeded warning that France would one day contest the New World with Castile.

2. Its Causes.

Next, the conditions of the struggle. The two were nearly equal in resources. If Francis was "a soldier-king" who could fight his own battles, Charles was a statesman-king who could warily take

3. Its Conditions.

advantage of the blunders into which his rival's heedless impetuosity led him. The French cavalry for dash: the Spanish infantry for endurance. Against the greater extent and wealth of Charles's dominions might well be set the compactness of Francis's kingdom and the greater concentration of power in his own hands. If Charles could once get a firm grip over the whole of his dominions he was World-Emperor at once: it was Francis's function, as champion of the new Nationalism (Intro., § 7), to prevent this result, as it was afterwards the function of England to check the Bourbons and Napoleon. Charles lay open to attack anywhere, but could hardly be thoroughly beaten anywhere, let alone everywhere. For the first ten years of the duel, the battle-field, as before, was Italy: later, the German Reformation gradually pulled the central interest of the struggle to the Rhenish frontier.

Charles V. and the Reformation.

Charles V.'s attitude to the Reformation, and consequently to the Church-system of Europe, was quickly decided and proved decisive. The question was the old one—Emperor? or King? Was he to put himself at the head of the movement which Luther had restarted, direct it towards real reform, and, in fact, be a German King, or should he act as the secular colleague of the Pope—as Emperor (Intro., §§ 5, 6, 9)? He wanted the Pope's support in Italy, and, misreading the signs of the times, fancied reform could or would wait his convenience. On May 8, 1521, during the eventful Diet of Worms, he struck a bargain with the Papacy and signed the Imperial Edict against Luther. "The grand Reformation Cause, at once the grandest blessing and the grandest difficulty," says Carlyle, "had fallen to the guidance not of noble German veracity and pious wisdom, but of long-headed obstinate Flemish cunning."

The Field of the Cloth of Gold, June 1520.

§ 11. *Cui adhaereo praest* was Henry's motto in relation to his two contemporaries. It was no idle vaunt: he could turn the scale. They recognised his value and competed for his friendship. Hard pressed as he was by the religious agitation in Germany, and by the widespread dissatisfaction that his preference for Flemish ministers had produced in

Spain, the Emperor paid especial court to his uncle. The practical utility of friendship with the ruler of the Low Countries joined with Henry's jealousy of Francis, as a gentleman and a gallant, to make Charles's suit easy. Hence the French King's effort to win over Henry in a personal conference on the plain of Ardres, near Calais (June 7-24, 1520), in which "those suns of glory, those two lights of men" * (to say nothing of their attendants) so vied with one another in extravagance of dress and living that the meeting is known as the *Field of the Cloth of Gold*, had much less influence with Henry than two quiet interviews with Charles, at Canterbury and at Gravelines respectively, before and after the tourneys and delights with Francis.

Henry as "Defender of the Faith," 1521.

A year of uneasy relations between the two Continental sovereigns followed, until Wolsey, called, in accordance with the treaty of 1518, to act as arbitrator between them in the *Conference of Calais* (August-October, 1521), gave his decision that Francis had been the aggressor, both on the Flemish frontier and in invading Navarre to bear help to the revolted *communidades* or towns of Spain, and that, therefore, Henry was bound to help Charles. A treaty—practically agreed on during the Conference, in an interview at Bruges between Wolsey and the Emperor—was immediately made between Charles, Henry, and Leo X., by which, amongst other things, Charles engaged himself to his cousin Mary of England. The strongest tie between the three was hostility to Luther, against whom Henry had just written the treatise *Defensio Septem Sacramentorum* which obtained from Leo the title *Fidei Defensor* that still adorns our coins.

The new marriage-treaty, like the first Tudor Spanish match of 1501 (ch i., § 9), was sealed with blood. The Duke of Buckingham, the son of the man who had lost his life in 1483 in the first endeavour to set Henry VII. on the throne, had been indulging in wild talk as to what he would do to Wolsey if Henry died without issue, and he, as the nearest descendant of Edward III., came to the throne

* The description put into Buckingham's mouth in Shakspere's *Henry VIII.*, Act i., Sc. 1. The play is as full of the spirit of the times as of chronological inaccuracies.

(Table, p. xii.). A court of his peers, assembled under the presidency of the Lord High Steward, held this conduct, associated with witchcraft and sorcery as it was, to be imagining the King's death, and so treasonable; and in May 1521 Buckingham was executed. He was the last duke of his line, and the last permanent Lord High Constable of England.

§ 12. The war which followed Henry's new breach with "his good brother and perpetual ally" of France is of European rather than English interest. The chief suffering fell on the unfortunate inhabitants of Northern Italy, where the chances of war fluctuated for several years. The most striking features are the total failure of the treasonable attempt of the Constable of Bourbon (Tree, p. 85) in 1523 to permanently partition France between himself, Charles and Henry, because that illustrates the thoroughness of the unification of France (Intro., § 12); and the Sack of Rome in 1527 by George Frundsberg's Lutheran troops in the service of the Emperor, because that at once illustrates the political incompatibility of Pope and Emperor and the unconsciousness of the Emperor that the Lutheran party would develop into a sect. The result of the war, as expressed in the *Peace of Cambray*, 1529—which, as being negotiated by Francis I.'s mother, Louise, and Charles V.'s aunt, Margaret, is familiarly known as the *Traité des Dames*—was that Francis, while practically securing the Duchy of Burgundy, renounced all claims to the possession of Milan and Naples, and to the feudal lordship of Flanders and Artois. Henceforth till the Eighteenth Century Italy remained the almost undisputed "sphere of influence" of some branch or other of the House of Hapsburg, and the activity of France was directed elsewhere.

Henry's Alliance with Charles, 1521–25.

So far as it concerns England, the war falls readily into the divisions of defensive and aggressive. Francis attempted to distract the English attention by giving Henry trouble in Ireland and Scotland. In neither case was he successful. In Ireland he neglected to support Desmond, whom he had roused to declare his hostility against the English (ch. x., § 6).

Albany in Scotland, 1522—23.

In Scotland, his instrument was the Duke of Albany, who now proved to the hilt his inefficiency. Twice was he sent to Scotland with ample means to assert himself as regent. In 1522 Lord Dacre thrust him back with a threat of the near approach of English forces, which, so far from being on their march, were not in reality assembled. In 1523 Thomas, Earl of Surrey—son of the Earl who had been rewarded for Flodden Field with the Norfolk dukedom—finally expelled him from Scotland, and reported that "undoubtedly there was never a man departed with more shame or more fear than the Duke has done to-day." From that time till 1542 (ch. iv., § 16), Scotland was torn by internal dissensions,* and gave England little trouble.

Invasions of France, 1522—23.

Meanwhile Henry was making in his turn two incursions into France of the old-fashioned swashbuckler type, as futile as these Franco-Scottish attempts, and much more expensive. Surrey was recalled from Ireland in 1522 to take command of nearly 20,000 troops, which burned numerous villages round Calais and caught the dysentery. Next year Suffolk, with 20,000 men, invaded Picardy, whilst Germans were to invade Burgundy, Spaniards Guienne, and Bourbon was to raise Provence in Francis' rear after his passage of the Alps. The plan failed utterly. Suffolk reached Montdidier, within sixty miles of Paris, and then had to retreat to disband his sickly forces. He escaped the royal displeasure only by Wolsey's earnest entreaty.

This ended the active participation of England in the war. We have already seen (§ 7) how difficult it had been to raise the money from Parliament for the campaign of 1523, or from individuals for the campaign in which two years later it was proposed to effect the conquest of France during the captivity of her King (§ 13). Besides, by that time men were coming round to Wolsey's view that the war was a mistake: according to Warham, it gave the people "more reason to weep than to rejoice. The winning of France should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning."

* See biographies of Albany and Angus, Appendix V.

WORKING MEN'S

Effects of the Battle of Pavia, 1525.

§ 13. Poverty was not the only cause of the cessation of Henry's energy. He was gradually veering round to Francis' side. The failure of Bourbon to secure Marseilles for Charles in 1524 was followed in the next year by a disastrous battle near Pavia (February 24), in which Francis was taken prisoner, and, as he wrote to his mother, "lost all save honour." The news was at first joyfully received at the English Court. But Charles looked askance at Henry's proposal for the division of France and the ultimate union of all their several possessions under the sway of the descendants of the Emperor and his cousin Mary (§ 11). He also gave evidence of his intention to make the most of his "good brother's" captivity, as he in fact did by the *Treaty of Madrid*,* January 1526, whose terms were so hard that Francis' repudiation of them, when released, can scarcely be wondered at, however much it may be condemned. Thus Charles's power seemed to Henry and his chief minister to need checking rather than forcing. Besides, Wolsey may have been discontented with the Emperor for the inefficiency of the support given to his candidature in the Papal vacancies which had been filled successively by the election of Charles's old tutor as Hadrian IV. (1522) and Giulio de' Medici as Clement VII. (1523).

Alliance between Henry and Francis, August 1527.

In the same year as Francis' capture, the English Court not only used its influence on Francis' behalf, but made a truce with his mother, Louise of Savoy, the Regent. Various little things—such as the seizing of the Imperial ambassador's letters in England, and Charles's marriage early in 1526, not with Mary of England, but with another cousin, Isabella of Portugal—showed how Charles and Henry were drifting apart; and in August 1527, a treaty of alliance was made between Francis and Henry. The nominal basis was a new *Holy League* (first arranged at Cognac, May 1526),

* Francis engaged: (i.) to restore the Duchy of Burgundy, annexed on the death of Charles the Rash (Intro., § 12); (ii.) to give up his claims on Milan, Naples, Flanders, and Artois; (iii.) to give no more aid to the expelled King of Navarre, Henry d'Albret; (iv.) to marry Charles's aunt Mary, Queen Dowager of Portugal. How far Charles succeeded in making these terms good in the final *Peace of Cambray*, three years later, is explained in § 11, *ad init.*

in defence of the Pope, who was at the moment a captive of the Emperor's—or rather of Imperial troops. In the preceding May Rome had been sacked for five days by a joint force of Lutheran and Spanish troops, under Bourbon. "The Eternal City," says the Roman Catholic historian, Lingard, "suffered more from the ravages of a Christian army than it had ever done from the hostility of Pagan barbarians." Naturally, such an act shocked Henry—the Defender of the Faith (§ 11) and Wolsey—the aspirant for the Popedom. In the treaty they now signed with Francis, they arranged a marriage between Henry VIII.'s daughter Mary, and either Francis himself or his second son, Charles, Duke of Orleans, and stipulated that, *during the captivity of the Pontiff*,

(i.) Neither King should consent to the convocation of a General Council;

(ii.) Neither King should admit any Bulls or Briefs issued by Clement in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects;

(iii.) The concerns of each National Church should be conducted by its own bishops; and

(iv.) The judgments of Wolsey in his Legatine Court should, in defiance of any Papal prohibition, be carried into immediate execution.

§ 14. The whole clause, particularly the last paragraph, was highly significant. It showed that two Catholic kings could in those days find it consistent with their Catholicism to meditate the establishment of a new Patriarchate in the West of Europe, independent of the larger Patriarchate of Rome, and having not filial but fraternal relations therewith. It also showed how much Henry had set his heart on a new wife, and how far he was at present prepared to go in order to dissolve his existing marriage. For this course both religious and political reasons were put forward; and these were made the more effective by personal motives. Henry himself attributed the desire to put away Katharine to a timorous conscience and to the fear of disputed succession. He thought that in his wife's miscarriages, and the death of four children, one after the other—which left him without male heir—he saw the proof of Heaven's curse on him for marrying his brother's widow (§ 3). The feeling was

The Divorce: 1. Pretexts.

probably quite genuine. "Henry was nothing if not conscientious," we may agree with Bishop Creighton, "though he made large drafts on his conscience, and paid them back in small coin." And he certainly was troubled about his heirlessness. It was quite uncertain whether his daughter Mary would be accepted as Queen. There had been no precedent—and Henry had a thorough English belief in precedent—of a female ruler in English history, except perhaps the not over encouraging case of Henry I.'s daughter, the Empress Maud. And, as we have seen (§§ 4, 10), he had already cleared away two nobles whom he suspected of aiming at the Crown—the Duke of Suffolk in 1513, and the Duke of Buckingham in 1521.

2. Motives.

Behind these reasons of State lay the King's personal feelings. He was tired of his wife. Katharine never forfeited his esteem, but she was not particularly lively, and she was considerably older than himself (§ 3). Moreover, some time after May 1522, a young Englishwoman had returned to England from the French Court, who inspired him with an overmastering passion. Anne Boleyn was the pretty and vivacious daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn (created Viscount Rochford early in 1525) and of a younger daughter of the Duke of Norfolk (Table, p. 202). She steadily declined to become the King's mistress as her sister Mary, amongst others, had been before, and resolved to be Queen. The removal of Katharine was thus necessary to the attainment of her ambition. Whether Henry's animal passions suggested his conscientious scruples or *vice versa*—probably neither Henry nor any one else really knew which came first—it was certainly the baser motive which made him stick to his point so doggedly. Shakspere* happily expresses the way the affair struck the man in the street :—

Chamberlain. It seems, the marriage with his brother's wife
Has crept too near his conscience.
Suffolk. No ; his conscience
Has crept too near another lady.
Norfolk. 'Tis so :
This is the Cardinal's doing—the King-cardinal.

* *Henry VIII.* Act II., sc. ii.

§ 15. The first public hint of the "secret matter" which had been occupying Henry's mind since 1524, when Rome was sounded about it, if not since 1521, and which was to occasion such protracted negotiations in the next seven years, and to supply a sort of official link between England and the great fact of the time—the Reformation—was given when, during some negotiations with France, in April 1527, the Bishop of Tarbes questioned Mary's legitimacy. Nothing much came of it at the time. In the later treaty of the same year Mary was, as we have seen (§ 13, *fin.*), accepted by the French as legitimate; and about the same time Charles V.'s alarm was quieted by assurances that the marriage was not to be disputed. Yet at the end of the year Henry formally applied to Clement VII. to bring the question to an issue, and Wolsey in his Legatine Court held an inquiry into the marriage.

3. Earlier Stages.

The Divorce presented a tangle of hard problems of law and fact. According to the law of the Church —at that time the undisputed marriage-law of Latin Christendom—a man might not marry his deceased brother's wife. But it was then common enough, for political purposes, to set aside that law on more or less artificial pretexts; and, as we have seen (ch. i., § 9), that had been done in this case. Was Julius II.'s Bull of Dispensation valid? Some said it was, on the ground that the Pope had full Divine authority; some said it was of no value, at any rate outside his own diocese; while there was an intermediate view that the Pope could override a merely human enactment but not the moral law. There was some thought at first of making the case turn on technical irregularities in the Bull of Dispensation, and on Henry's old declaration of 1505 against the marriage; but, at the advice of an Oxford professor named Wakefield, it was preferred to take up the position that no dispensation could authorise marriage with a deceased brother's wife.*

4. Points at Issue.

* The Church-law on the point rested on Leviticus xviii. 16 and xx. 21, read in the light of Christ's words on the indissolubility of marriage (S. Matthew v. 32). But many lawyers held that the invalidity of the second marriage depended on whether the first marriage had been consummated. The evidence on this point of fact was conflicting; and anyhow Henry's previous relations with Anne's sister laid his proposed marriage open to the same canonical objection.

Not only was the technical question difficult, but the Divorce itself was far from popular. At the end of 1528, Henry felt it advisable to call together the leading citizens of London and explain his motives at some length. Those who were moved by sentiment were drawn to the sweetness of Katharine's character and the loneliness of her position; those who looked at the morality of the question were influenced by the opinion of Fisher, the high-minded Bishop of Rochester, which was dead against the Divorce; whilst those with whom commercial considerations had weight, feared that, in retaliation for so mortal an offence, Charles would place restrictions on the English wool-trade with Flanders.

5. Its unpopularity.

§ 16. Besides being beset with legal problems, hitherto purposely left unsolved, and being disliked by the nation at large, the Divorce was complicated by political considerations. Clement VII. wished to do all he could for his faithful ally Henry VIII., but, with Charles's power at hand to defend his aunt, he dared do nothing, lest the Emperor should be driven into the arms of the German Reformers. Had Francis' final attempt of 1528 to regain Italy not proved a disastrous failure, Clement might have plucked up courage to openly carry out his half-promise to annul the marriage. As it was, he procrastinated whilst the English envoys, Stephen Gardiner and Dr. Edward Fox, harassed him at Orvieto—whither he had betaken himself after the Sack of Rome—with fresh proposals and new documents to sign.

6. Its International Bearings.

Ultimately Clement issued a commission, authorising Cardinals Wolsey and Campeggio (the latter on Wolsey's nomination) to try the case. The latter arrived in England in October 1528, but spent so much time in negotiations that Henry grew utterly tired of waiting. Before the end of the year he recalled Anne Boleyn to Court, from which she had been removed, and publicly treated her as his future Queen. The Legatine Commission began its sessions on June 18, 1529, at the Blackfriars, when Katharine appealed to the Pope. On the second session, three days later, occurred the scene so effectively portrayed in Shakspere's

7. The Legatine Commission, June—July 1529.

Henry VIII., Act II., sc. iv. After hearing much evidence as to the fact whether the marriage of Katharine and Arthur had been consummated, and the opinions of many canonists and jurists as to how far the validity of the marriage depended on that circumstance, the commissioners, on July 23, adjourned for the summer vacation. In a few days it became known that Clement VII. had, twelve days earlier, recalled the hearing of the suit to Rome. The negotiations which culminated in the *Ladies' Treaty* of August 1529, were now going on (§ 12); and in face of the impending withdrawal of Francis I. from Italy, the Pope was completely powerless to resist the pressure which, by threatening himself in Rome or his Medicean cousins in Florence, Charles was able to put upon him. Thus Henry was left to fume against "this dilatory sloth, the tricks of Rome."

Wolsey and the Divorce.

§ 17. "Never did Cardinal bring good to England!" exclaimed Suffolk, when the expectations of a decision in favour of the King were thus frustrated. Wolsey took the words to apply to himself, and made a pointed defence of his action. Wolsey was not, as Pole insinuated, and as he was commonly reputed, *instigator et auctor consilii:* on the contrary he did his best to turn Henry from his purpose but, in his own words, "could not prevail" (p. 113). In his time it was the King's minister's duty to carry out the King's will: he practically had not the alternatives which a Prime Minister in our own day has if he disagree with his master, the House of Commons—dissolve the House or resign. When Wolsey first heard of the Divorce scheme, in 1525, the then English alliance with Charles V. was an effective stop to any active measures. When in the following year England was veering towards France, Wolsey pushed the affair, hoping to secure for Henry the hand of some French lady. Presumably, he considered the King's amours as short-lived as his own.

Fall of Wolsey, October 1529.

Wolsey's diplomatic hopes of thus exchanging a marriage-alliance with Spain for one with France were not quite destroyed till April 1528, when he found that, even after a long absence from the King, owing to the prevalence of the Sweating Sickness

(cf. ch. i., § 2), Anne Boleyn still retained her power. Though he knew Anne to be connected with the party opposed to him, he had to go through with the matter, and seems to have done his best whilst expecting the worst. What he feared came on October 9, when the Attorney-General formally charged him with infringing the *Statute of Præmunire* * by the exercise of his Legatine power over England. The act of **1393** was meant to regulate appeals to Rome and check the unnecessary use of the Papal authority in England (Intro., § 29). The charge now based on that act was manifestly unfair: Wolsey had obtained his powers of Legate by the King's wish, and had exercised them by royal licence; and such royal dispensations from the penalties of the statute had been occasionally sanctioned by Parliament. But Wolsey knew his danger; he pleaded guilty; he surrendered his own personal estate, worth 500,000 crowns, to the King whom once before, in **1527**, he had conciliated with the gift of the palace that he had built by the Thames at Hampton Court. He attempted, on his servant Cromwell's advice, to win a late support amongst leading courtiers by granting them the fruition of certain of his benefices. Despite the efforts of "the night-crow," as Wolsey called Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII. wavered in his prosecution of the fallen minister. He still possessed the quality of mercy, and might well extend it to so faithful a servant, whose "face through grief had dwindled to half its natural size." He allowed Wolsey to retire to Esher, and permitted Cromwell to oppose successfully the forty-four frivolous articles † exhibited against him in the Lower House, when in November it met for the first time since **1523**. Ultimately in February

* This statute (an enlargement of one in 1353) provided that "if any purchase or pursue in the Court of Rome translations (to benefices), processes, excommunications, bulls, etc., he and his notaries, counsellors, and *abettors* [cf. ch. iii., § 6] should forfeit their lands and tenements, goods and chattels, to the King." The statute takes its name from the writ *Præmunire* (= *præmonere*) *facias*, addressed to the officer who is to forewarn the offender when and where he is to answer the charges.

† The word "impeachment" is not very accurately applicable to these proceedings against Wolsey, since the articles were first presented to the Upper House, and sent down to the Commons (Hallam). Properly *impeachment* is a *judicial* process whereby a man is tried before the Lords on the accusation of the Commons: whilst a *bill of attainder* is a *legislative* act of both Houses, attainting a man for causes alleged in the preamble. See ch. iv., §§ 6, 13.

1530, Henry granted him a general pardon, and leave to take up the long neglected duties of his northern Archbishopric.

§ 18. Wolsey's chance of restoration was now gone: no one seemed to regret him. "He was feared by all," says Erasmus: "he was loved by few—I may say by nobody." Yet many a worse minister has fared better with contemporaries. To the generality he was a "bold bad man" who was responsible for all the exactions and oppressions of the past years: to the nobles he was the upstart—"the imperious man who would work them all from princes into pages."* His industry, his justice, his loyalty, his services for education, and his desire for religious reform went for less than his arbitrary methods, his magnificent haughtiness, and his share in the Divorce. Even in his retirement, when he at last found time for his ordinary spiritual duties, hostility followed him. "I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds!" Henry had exclaimed during Wolsey's residence at Esher; and such esteem explains the ceaseless machinations which found a handle against Wolsey in his unwise interchange of letters with a French envoy. The upshot was that in November 1530, on the eve of his installation feast as Archbishop of York, he was summoned from Cawood to London on a fresh charge of high treason. But he broke down on his journey. Enfeebled by dysentery, he reached Leicester Abbey only "to lay his bones there." His last words to the Lieutenant of the Tower are so full of light on his own character and his King's, and, as Green says, "paint with so terrible a truthfulness the spirit of the New Monarchy," that they cannot too often be quoted:

Death of Wolsey, November 29, 1530.

"He is a prince of most royal courage; sooner than miss any part of his will he will endanger one half of his kingdom; and I do assure you I have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the King, He would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my due reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my Prince."

* The best modern account of the period treated in this chapter is J. S. Brewer's *Reign of Henry VIII.* The Divorce is the subject of a monograph by Friedmann on *Anne Boleyn*, and of Professor Froude's *Divorce of Catherine of Aragon*. A short crisp account of Wolsey's career is contained in Bishop Creighton's *Wolsey* ("Twelve English Statesmen").

CHAPTER III.

THE LONG PARLIAMENT OF THE REFORMATION.

November 3, 1529—March 31, 1536.

§ 1. The year 1529 as a landmark at home and abroad. – § 2. Henry VIII. and the Church : (*a*) Control of the Church ; (*b*) Relations with the Papacy.—§ 3. Money Grievances : (*a*) of the Laity against the Clergy ; (*b*) of the Nation against the Pope.—§ 4. The First Session, 1529.—§ 5. The Year of Wavering, 1530 : rival schemes for the Divorce.—§ 6. The Second Session, and the *Recognition of the Headship* by the Clergy, 1531.—§ 7. The *Submission of the Clergy* ; the Third Session, and the *First Statute in Restraint of Annates*, 1532.—§ 8. Cromwell and Cranmer to the fore ; the Marriage with Anne Boleyn, and the Birth of Elizabeth, 1533.—§ 9. The Fourth Session, and the *First Statute in Restraint of Appeals*, 1533.—§ 10. The Fifth Session, in the Spring of 1534.—§ 11. Fisher, More, and the Nun of Kent ; the Final Breach with Rome, 1534.—§ 12. The Sixth Session, in the Winter of 1534-5 : the *Statute of the Supreme Head*.—§ 13. The Enforcement of the Supremacy : Execution of More and Fisher, 1535.—§ 14. The Activity of the Supremacy : Cromwell's Visitation of the Monasteries, 1535 ; Suppression of the Smaller Monasteries, 1536.—§ 15. The Work of the Reformation Parliament in defining the relations of King, Church, and Pope.

§ 1. The year **1529** is a great landmark in both the inter-

The year 1529 : 1. Abroad.

national and the constitutional history. Abroad, it is the year in which France, in accordance with the *Peace of Cambray* (ch. ii., § 12), formally withdrew her claims to dominion in Italy, and in which the North German Reformers—alarmed at the prospect of the imminent interference of Charles in Germany, now that he was for a moment set free from his Italian and other troubles—drew together and on April 19 put forward, against the decree of the Diet of Spires forbidding innovations in religion, that "protest" which earned them the name of *Protestants*. In those days a protest against any recognised authority was accounted an exceedingly "high-handed proceeding." The coining of this party-name foreboded,

though men as yet knew it not, that Protestants would one day break entirely away from the unity of Catholicism : the failure of Philip of Hesse's attempt at the Conference of Marburg, October 1529, to bring Swiss and Saxon Reformers into harmony, foreboded that the Protestantism of the future would not be a unity (Intro., §§ 23, 24). The religious platform of the Saxon Reformers was formulated by Melancthon and extensively subscribed amongst the German princes in the *Confession of Augsburg*, June 1530 ; and the definite defensive organisation of those who stood on the platform was, thanks to Philip of Hesse, completed by the *League of Schmalkalde*, March 1531. The threatened religious war was, however, postponed fifteen years (ch v., § 3) by the necessity which was incumbent upon Charles and his brother Ferdinand, King of Hungary and Bohemia, of uniting the Empire against the invasions of Suleiman, and by the renewal of the rivalry of Charles V. and Francis I.

2. At Home.

At home, the year 1529 was marked by the fall of Wolsey and by the assembling of the Long Parliament of the Reformation (1529—1536). No Parliament, save that of 1523, had met during the fourteen years of Wolsey's chancellorship (ch. ii., § 7) ; no Parliament had ever yet sat more than the customary one or two sessions ; and no Parliament was to sit so long and do so much until the Long Parliament of the Puritan Revolution, which 111 years later first met, like this Long Parliament, on the third day of November (1640—1660).

The break at 1529 is exceedingly well defined. Hitherto Henry VIII.'s reign had been little more than a round of jovial jousts and jingo journeys : its interest, on the surface at least, was romantic, military, external, transient. After 1529, Henry is in grim earnest ; the results of his earnestness, for good or ill, still abide with us ; and the interest is almost entirely domestic. Hitherto the Tudors had worked hand in glove with the Pope, and had used the home-clergy as their principal instruments : after 1529, all this is changed. Henry VIII. suddenly takes up with the nobles whom, by the aid of clerics and lawyers, his father had taught to recognise their master (ch. i., § 12) : while Sir Thomas More (ch. ii., §§ 1, 2) succeeds Wolsey as Chancellor, the

Duke of Norfolk, Anne Boleyn's kinsman, becomes Lord Treasurer, and Henry's brother-in-law Charles, Duke of Suffolk, becomes Lord President of the Council.

§ 2. The three offices which, by the *Statute of Precedence*, Henry VIII. and the Church. **1539**, are formally ranked first (in the order named) amongst the great offices of State, are thus given to laymen; and with the predominance of the lay element in the Council comes a lay policy. Henry VIII. resumes the efforts of earlier kings to secure the control of the Church (Intro., § 29), and in the spirit of the New Monarchy centres that control in his own person (Intro., §§ 14, 15). He had several times given hints of some such possibility. In the clause of the Coronation-oath pledging him to preserve the constitution of the Church, he had inserted the qualification, "*not prejudiceall to hys jurysdiction and dignity royal.*" In **1515**, when a certain Dr. Standish had got into trouble with Convocation for maintaining that a recent statute restricting Benefit of Clergy was "not against the liberty of the Church, but for the weal of the whole Realm," and when some of the bishops had raised the old doubts whether certain clerical persons could be tried by a lay-court for the death of one Richard Hunne in the Bishop of London's prison, Henry had expressed to the bishops some emphatic views—based, as was usual with him, on precedent—about the relation of Church and State:—

"By the permission and ordinance of God, we are King of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God only. Therefore, know you well that we will maintain the right of our Crown and of our temporal jurisdiction, as well in this [alleged exemption of the clergy from lay-courts] as in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time. And as for your decrees, we are well assured that you of the Spiritualty go expressly against the words of divers of them, as hath been showed you by some of our Council; and you interpret your decrees at your pleasure; but we will not agree to them any more than our progenitors have done in former times."

Complexity of the Church-and-State Problem. Unfortunately, alike for Henry's present comfort and for his future good fame, what was essentially a grand national problem was faced and solved from petty personal motives. The difficulty about the Divorce caused the internal question of the State-

control of the Church to be taken in hand in a spirit of hostility to the Pope of Rome. As the Pope had gradually obtained so complete a recognition of his claims to the headship of the universal ecclesiastical body known as the Catholic Church (Intro., §§ 5, 6) that many men regarded him as the divinely appointed "Vicar of Christ," the breach with the Papacy brought about an apparent severance between the English Church and the Catholic Church, of which she had hitherto been a recognised member—a refractory member, it is true, but still in origin and of her own will a conscious member. Henry approached the triple problem from the point of view of a divided allegiance: in what way that long-standing but not insuperable difficulty struck him may be gathered from his own words during 1529 to a group of Lords and Commons:—

"Well-beloved subjects, we thought that the Clergy of our Realm had been our subjects *wholly*, but now we have well perceived that they be but *half our subjects*; yea, and scarce our subjects, for all the prelates at their consecration take an oath to the Pope clean contrary to the oath they make to us, so that they seem to be *his* subjects and not *ours*."

Money Grievances: 1. Laity *v.* Clergy.

§ 3. The Clergy in fact sat on a fence, whence they could clamber down and range themselves under either their temporal or their spiritual chief. Henry wished to make certain that in some things at least they could be counted on to side with him; and to do this he made use of the dislike of the laity to the exemptions enjoyed by the clergy from the ordinary civil courts of justice; and especially to the payment of uncertain ecclesiastical fines for breaches of discipline, to the arbitrary ecclesiastical fees levied for the performance of such functions as baptism, marriage, burial (*mortuaries*), and for the granting of probate or other business of the Church-courts. The Clergy were, in fact, indolent with wealth, yet always grasping for more. The heavy fees levied by them for their rendering of some of the most necessary of the services of every-day life, were in many cases supplemented by the accumulation of benefice upon benefice in the hands of one man—often a resident in some other country (*pluralities*). "The rule of the Church," says Froude, "was nothing for nothing."

Closely connected with these pecuniary grievances urged by the laity against the home-clergy was the grudging attitude taken up by clerks and laymen alike to the payment of money to the Pope. The Periclean policy of making the States of the Church powerful by war, and Rome itself beautiful with art, failed to rouse the enthusiasm of the "subject-allies" who had to find the funds without getting any visible return; and the work was so expensive that in order to fill the Papal coffers resort had to be had to such questionable expedients as the sale of indulgences. Of course such indulgences only remitted (for a graduated consideration) the penances canonically due in expiation of sins, and did not, unless accompanied by repentance, touch the guilt of the sinner. Yet it seems certain that the Dominicans, who were used as agents for their distribution in Germany, did not shrink from giving people to understand, or at least leaving them to believe, that these indulgences actually opened the gate of Heaven. It was an age in which, as we have seen (Intro., § 22), the externalisation of religion had long been taken for granted. "God willeth not the death of a sinner," Rodrigo Borgia had said in the days before he became Pope Alexander VI., "but rather that he should pay and live." This money-making use of the authority of the Church had roused Luther and Germany (Intro., § 21, p. 40). In England such methods did not yet stir up any considerable religious feeling: men simply grumbled at them as a practical nuisance; the Clergy did not like having to pay *Annates* to the Pope; while all disliked the Papal interferences with patronage known as *Provisions*, *Reservations* and *Mandats*.*

2. Nation *v.* Rome.

We have now to see how, by taking advantage of these feelings and animosities, Henry came to secure both the Divorce and the complete control over the Church, and in

* *Annates* = the first-fruits or first year's income of a benefice, and especially of a bishopric. Since the early part of the Fourteenth Century these had been habitually paid to the Pope, in return for the Bulls confirming the election of a bishop, and formed the chief fund for the support of the Cardinals in attendance on the Pontiff. *Provisions* and *Reservations* sprang out of the right of the Pontiff to decide in cases of contested elections to vacant benefices: both were extensions of Papal patronage dating from the Thirteenth Century. By the former the Pope provided a successor to a vacant living: by the latter he reserved a living not yet vacant for some *protégé* of his. *Mandats* were commendatory letters to patrons, which tended to become commands.

so doing reluctantly became, as Gray calls him, "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome."

§ 4. The Seven Years' Parliament gave, during its very first session, indications of its jealousy of the Clergy, in the form of an attack on certain minor clerical privileges, made under the guise of administrative Church-reforms. The King's influence enabled Bills to be passed limiting probate-fees and mortuaries to reasonable sums—a blow to the bishops and inferior clergy respectively—and forbidding non-residence, pluralities, and the common practice of the inferior clergy, of trading as farmers, brewers and tanners. The Clergy were at once disgusted and alarmed that the reforms which Colet in 1511 and others of their own body from time to time had urged them to effect of themselves should be forced on them from outside and by mere laymen. "*The Commons seek the goods not the good of the Church*" was their cry; but the King made Fisher, one of their most weighty spokesmen, apologise, when he went on to accuse the Commons of heresy:—

Session i.: 1529.

"My lords, you see daily what Bills come hither from the Common-House, and all is to the destruction of the Church. For God's sake, see what a realm the kingdom of Bohemia was [during the Hussite troubles early in the Fifteenth Century: Intro., § 8]; and when the Church went down, then fell the glory of the kingdom. Now with the Commons is nothing but 'Down with the Church!' And all this, meseemeth, is for lack of faith."

That the existing Parliament could be readily manipulated was clear both from this legislation and from its passing of a *Bill of Remittal*, which cancelled the King's debts since 1523. Though the Commons resisted this act of bankruptcy, they were able to obtain nothing more than a general pardon as *quid pro quo* when they ultimately yielded, and "freely, liberally, and absolutely gave to the King's Highness all and every sum which to them is, ought, or might be due."

Parliamentary Complaisance.

§ 5. There was no session in the following year, which was full of negotiations for the Divorce. The new advisers who had succeeded Wolsey, included, in the person of More, one at least who looked askance on the marriage scheme. The others had various devices to effect the Divorce. The most moderate among

The Year of Wavering, 1530.

them, including Norfolk and the Lady Anne's father, (now Earl of Wiltshire and Ormonde), hoped to carry it through by negotiating with the Emperor. But when, early in 1530, Norfolk offered a bribe of 500,000 crowns for his help, Charles said he was "not a merchant to sell the honour of his aunt." About the same time Henry's last attempt—with the assistance of a petition from a selection of his subjects that did duty for a Parliamentary petition—to win over Clement failed; and, under pressure from Charles, the Pope issued a Breve ordering Henry to take back Katharine as his wife until sentence should be given. Henry's answer was the Proclamation of September 1530, enforcing the old restrictions against Papal Bulls and Letters.

Cranmer and Cromwell.

The King, depressed by his ill-success, now began seriously to take into consideration the advice of two men who wished for more extreme measures, one wishing to question, the other to deny, the Papal authority. Thomas Cranmer, a chaplain of the Boleyn family, suggested that the opinion of the Universities of Europe should be obtained, as a likely means of impressing or overawing the Pope. The formal issue was exclusively one of Theology and Law—and they were the chief studies of the mediaeval University. Henry, thinking, as he put it, Cranmer had "got the sow by the right ear," caught at the idea, but profited little by it. In Germany the result went entirely against him; in Italy bribes, in France the favour of Francis I., in England intimidation, won the approval of certain universities; but the verdict was not sufficiently unanimous to carry much weight. That such a plan should have been tried was, however, a striking testimony to the growing power of opinion—*i.e.*, to the actuality of the Renascence spirit (Intro., § 19).

The advice of Thomas Cromwell—which Cranmer had suggested to Gardiner so early as 1528—was simply that the King should assert his own Supremacy in ecclesiastical affairs, and sue for a divorce in his own spiritual courts. This was only the explicit expression of the idea which (to go no further back) underlay William I.'s *Ecclesiastical Ordinances*, the *Constitutions of Clarendon* (1164), and the Statutes of *Præmunire* and *Provisors* (Intro., § 29); yet

Henry, greedy as he was of power, shrank from a step which was so likely, by weakening the Papal authority, to strengthen the hands of the Lutherans (ch. ii., § 11). Whatever his relation to the Pope might be, Henry was resolute to live and die "Defender of the Faith."

§ 6. The year of wavering being over, Henry began, in 1531, to feel his way towards following Cromwell's suggestion. In January Katharine was formally dismissed from Windsor. She retired to Ampthill, in Bedfordshire, with an allowance suitable to her position as "Dowager-Princess of Wales," and with the words, "Go where I will I shall still be his lawful wife." Parliament, still faithful to the Queen, and indisposed to quarrel with the Pope, was adjourned after its members had been informed of the decision of the Universities, and instructed to convey the information to their constituents. It also wrung from the King his assent to an act whereby "of his mere notion and of his benignity, special grace, pity and liberality, the royal pardon was granted to all and singular his temporal and lay subjects and temporal bodies politic and corporate," for offences against the Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*.

Session ii.: 1531.

The Clergy were not let off so easily; and it is this fact that centres the real interest of the session in Convocation.* They were implicated, by a straining of the law even less defensible than in Wolsey's case, as "fautors and abettors" in Wolsey's offence against the Statute of *Præmunire* (note, p. 112). They at once offered a large sum, payable within five years, in purchase of a pardon, the Northern Convocation giving

The Recognition of the Headship, 1531.

* *Convocation* is the technical name for each of the two *Provincial* Church-Councils which, owing to the jealousies between the two Archbishops, took the place of the earlier *National* Council of the English Church, arranged by Archbp. Theodore. In the Twelfth Century they were organised much as they are now, and after Edward I.'s reign usually met on the same day as Parliament. Each Convocation consisted of two houses: (1) the Upper House, consisting of the bishops of the province; (2) the Lower House, consisting of the deans, archdeacons, one proctor (*i.e.* agent or delegate) from each chapter, and two proctors elected by the parochial clergy of each *diocese* [in the Northern Province from each *archdeaconry*]. Their *independent* power of ecclesiastical *legislation* came to an end in 1532 (§ 7); that of *self-taxation* was surrendered by Archbishop Sheldon in 1664. Between 1717 and 1850 Convocation never met for business; since then it has resumed, in part, its proper constitutional function of discussing Church-administration and drafting ecclesiastical legislation. The laity are now informally represented in each Convocation by a *House of Laymen*, and structural reform is mooted.

nearly £20,000, that of Canterbury some £100,000; but more than this was required. The preamble to the grant contained the words: "Of which Church and Clergy we acknowledge his Majesty to be the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, *as far as the law of Christ will allow*, THE SUPREME HEAD." The words italicised had to be inserted to force the measure through the Southern Convocation;* and even then its president, Warham, had to employ what was simply a dodge. On the motion being put there was a dead silence. "*Qui tacet consentire videtur*," said Warham; and there was a voice that answered, "*Itaque tacemus omnes.*" Thus was manufactured what Bishop Stubbs has called "the fulcrum for the whole ecclesiastical policy of the future."

The Submission of the Clergy, 1532.

§ 7. This clerical Act, which is known as the *Recognition of the Headship*, was in the following year supplemented by that called the *Submission of the Clergy*. This had not so direct a bearing on the question of the day, but it shook the prestige and confidence of the Clergy, and began to bring home to them what the Royal Supremacy that they had accepted might mean. The Commons sent in a long and elaborate list of grievances, entitled *A Supplication against the Ordinaries*, in which, amongst other things, they complained that laws enacted by Convocation were frequently incompatible with the statute-law. Convocation, after a struggle to keep the position that they had an inherent and independent right to make canons touching doctrine and discipline, gave way before the pressure put on them by the King, and "his superior learning and piety." Ultimately, on May 15, the Convocation of Canterbury agreed to three articles which formed the working basis of the Royal Supremacy on its legislative side:—

(i) No Convocation to be assembled save by the King's writ to the Archbishop of the province.

(ii) No new canon or ordinance to be hereafter enacted, promulged, or executed, without the King's licence and approval.

(iii) All existing canons to be submitted to the approval of a

* In the Northern Convocation Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, tried in vain to modify the recognition still further by the insertion of the words "*in temporalibus post Christum.*"

committee of thirty-two members, half lay, half cleric, chosen and headed by the King, with a view of determining whether they were prejudicial to the King's Prerogative or burdensome to subjects.

Meanwhile Parliament was reluctantly following the King's lead in an attack on annates or first-fruits (note, p. 118), against which Convocation had been induced to lodge a petition. Though not a very grievous burden—they amounted at this time on the yearly average to some £4000 only—they were objectionable to all concerned; and accordingly Parliament now passed the *First Statute in Restraint of Annates*:—

Session iii., 1532: *First Act in Restraint of Annates.*

Preamble. "Albeit that our Sovereign Lord the King and all his natural subjects, as well spiritual as temporal, be as obedient devout Catholics and humble children of God as any people be within any realm christened, yet the said exactions be so intolerable that"—it is hereby enacted

(i) That the payment of Annates to "Our Holy Father the Pope" be discontinued.

(ii) That any bishop paying them forfeit his personalties and the profits of his see to the King.

(iii) That any bishop who, through refusing first-fruits, could not get the usual Bulls from the Pope, be empowered to act as bishop none the less for that.

(iv) That the King be authorised to suspend or modify, to annul or enforce, the operation of the statute by his letters-patent.

To get this Bill through each House Henry's own influence was necessary: in the Commons a division—then an unusual proceeding—was taken in the presence of the King to pass it. The last clause shows how all this legislation was primarily designed not to effect a separation from Rome, but to screw an assent to the Divorce out of the Pope by the threat of partial separation. The use of a petition of the Commons to influence Convocation, and the use of a petition of Convocation to influence the Commons, alike illustrate Henry's method of making capital out of the jealousies of Clergy and laity. But Parliament proved itself stronger than Convocation. Though it was willing to help Henry against the Clergy, it looked well after itself: it would have none of Henry's two measures concerning wills and uses,* which

* The *Statute of Uses* was ultimately passed in the last session of the Seven Years' Parliament, 1536, the *Statute of Wills* in 1540. The former was directed against the practice whereby the *use* or profits of lands belonging to one man were enjoyed by another. The legal ownership of land at common law by this expedient of the equity lawyers had come to be different from the actual ownership, and thus the

would have diminished the power of the country gentry over the disposition of their landed property. More than this, one member of the Lower House, Mr. Thomas Temys, of Westbury, actually moved that the King be requested to take back Katharine.

§ 8. The tendency of these measures—"to make priests of less account than shoemakers, who might, at least, regulate their own trade"—was obvious enough. Henry was evidently now bent on Cromwell's plan; and with this determination some of the Council had no sympathy. On the day after the *Submission of the Clergy* (p. 122), Sir Thomas More resigned the Seal and was succeeded by Audley, who as Speaker of the Long Parliament had already proved himself subservient enough. Cromwell grew more and more in favour, insomuch that in November 1533 Chapuys reported to the Emperor, "he rules everything." Meanwhile Warham, after drawing up a formal protest against all enactments which had been made in derogation both of the Pope's authority and of the See of Canterbury, resigned his archbishopric, and died in August 1532. Cranmer was nominated to the vacant Primacy, but Henry resolved to keep friends with the Pope until his nominee had obtained all the requisite powers in the way which had long been customary. It was not till March 30, 1533, that Cranmer was consecrated, making a secret protest that "by the taking the pontifical oath he did not intend to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God, or prejudicial to the rights of the King, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the Church of England."

Cranmer and Cromwell replace the Moderates.

Before that date Henry's impatience had combined with his confidence in the new Archbishop's co-operation, to make him take the final step in his own personal matter. Before dawn, on January 25, 1533, he was married to Anne Boleyn at

Marriage with Anne, and Birth of Elizabeth, 1533.

burden of feudal and other liabilities had become unfair and uncertain. The statute enacted that *cestui qui use* should be regarded as the owner of the property. By this new law landowners could not make their heir pay moneys out of their inheritance to their younger children: by the common law they could not devise their land to whom they wished. This hardship (ch. iv., §§ 4, 5) was alleviated by the *Statute of Wills*, 1540, which enabled a man to leave as he wished two-thirds of his land if held *in chivalry*, and the whole if held *in socage*.

Whitehall by Dr. Rowland Lee. At Easter the secret of the marriage was allowed to leak out, though for the sake of the offspring, the marriage was antedated, and supposed to have taken place on November 14, 1532, immediately after the King's return from an interview with Francis I. at Calais. Very soon after his consecration, Cranmer wrote the King a collusive letter, requesting leave to proceed to "the hearing, final determination, and judgment of the great cause." Henry was graciously pleased to assent. The Archbishop held a court at Dunstable, near Katharine's residence, and, on May 23, after a session of fifteen days, gave sentence that the marriage was without force and effect from the beginning. Soon afterwards he salved Henry's tender conscience by declaring the marriage with Anne lawful. She was crowned on June 1, and on September 7 gave birth to the daughter who was destined, as Queen Elizabeth, to make good the ecclesiastical changes which the difficulties attending her mother's marriage had occasioned.

Session iv., 1533: *the First Statute in Restraint of Appeals.*

§ 9. Though the general sense of the country was probably against these measures, they were, so far as form went, supported by the nation. For instance, the letter of the Archbishop was ostensibly the outcome of the decision by the theologians of the Convocation of Canterbury, that no Papal dispensation could authorise marriage with a brother's widow if the first marriage had been consummated—as, according to the canonists amongst the Convocation, it had been. And the validity of Cranmer's sentence formally rested on the *First Statute in Restraint of Appeals*, enacted in April 1533:

Preamble. "Whereas by divers and sundry old authentick histories and chronicles it is manifestly declared that this Realm of England is an *Empire* [cf. Intro., § 1, p. 2], and so hath been accepted in the world, governed by one Supreme Head and King . . . unto whom a body politick, compact of all sorts and degrees of peoples, Spiritualty and Temporalty, be bounden and owe to bear, next to God, a natural and humble obedience,"—be it enacted

(i) That all causes testamentary, of matrimony and divorce, tithes and oblations, already commenced or coming into contention, be heard and determined within the King's jurisdiction and not elsewhere, any inhibitions, excommunications, etc., from the See of Rome notwithstanding.

(ii) That any person procuring from Rome any foreign process (appeals, citations, interdictions, excommunications, etc.), incur the penalties of *Præmunire*.

(iii) That spiritual appeals lie from Archdeacon to Bishop, from Bishop to the Archbishop of the Province, and in any case touching the King, the appeal lie to the Upper House of Convocation.

The Bill was stubbornly opposed, mainly on the ground that it might cause the Emperor to stop the wool-trade with the Netherlands; and the Imperial ambassador thought the feeling against Henry so strong that Charles would be welcomed as a deliverer. It was, however, forced through, and, though many changes have since been made in the machinery, it finally settled the question of ecclesiastical jurisdiction as against the Pope: henceforth the King's spiritual judges were to be accounted as fully competent to determine spiritual matters as his temporal judges were to determine temporal matters. Taken in conjunction with the *Annates Act* of the previous year (§ 7), now at length put into force by a Royal Proclamation of July 9, this *Statute of Appeals*, in Bishop Stubbs' words, "proclaimed with one breath the competence of the English Church for complete internal administration under the Supremacy of the King."

The Papal Sentence, March 23, 1534.

There still seemed a chance that Henry would formally cancel, or at least practically neutralise, all this anti-Papal legislation if the Pope would give way; but that chance disappeared when, during the conference of Francis I. and Clement at Marseilles, in October, Henry rejected his ally Francis I.'s offer of mediation by causing Bonner to appeal in his name to a General Council. Even then it was not till after the lapse of six months that the Pope's decision was finally taken. He had annulled Cranmer's sentence at once, and ordered the King and the new Queen to separate. On March 23, 1534, a few months before his death, after holding a consistory in which only three out of the twenty-two cardinals present had voted for further delay, Clement VII. declared Katharine a lawful wife, and required Henry to treat her as such. But on March 30—some days before intelligence of this could have been received in England—

the Royal assent had been given to the *Statute of the Submission*, which formally completed the breach with Rome.

§ 10. In 1534 Parliament held two sessions. The spring session cut the painter which had so long connected the English and Roman Churches by putting an end both to the jurisdiction of the Pope and to the payments which had gathered round that jurisdiction or the Supremacy of which it was the central point. The winter session formulated that Royal Supremacy with which the Papal Supremacy had always conflicted and now seemed to prove quite incompatible. The chief Acts of the earlier session were these :—

Session v., January 5 to March 30, 1534.

I. The Statute of the Submission, *or* The Second Act of Appeals :—

(i) Confirms the *Submission of the Clergy*, 1532, with the addition that all existing canons that were not repugnant to the statutes and customs of the Realm or the Prerogatives of the Crown should remain in force till otherwise ordered.

(ii) Forbids any manner of appeal to Rome under penalties of *Præmunire*.

(iii) Gives a right of appeal in causes spiritual from the courts of the Archbishops to the King in Chancery, as represented by commissioners, specially appointed for each occasion, and called the *High Court of Delegates of Appeals*.*

II. The Second Act in Restraint of Annates :—

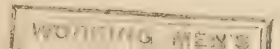
(i) *Annates*, etc.—The first-fruits not only of bishoprics but of all benefices, as well as a tenth of the annual income of all beneficed clergy, definitely withdrawn from the Pope [vested in the Crown by an Act of the following session].

(ii) *Appointment of Bishops*.—No archbishops or bishops to be presented to "the Bishop of Rome, otherwise called the Pope," for confirmation, or to sue out any Bulls at the Curia. When a vacancy occurred in a bishopric, a licence under the Great Seal (*congé d'élire*) was to be sent to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral-Church of the diocese, authorising them to elect the person named in the accompanying *letter-missive* on pain of the penalties of *præmunire*. The next steps were : (*a*) the swearing of fealty ; (*b*) consecration by the archbishop or four bishops ; (*c*) investiture of temporalties.

III. Act for the Exoneration from Exactions paid to the See of Rome :—

(i) *Preamble*. "The King, his nobles and subjects do not intend by this Act to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of

* For which *the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council* was substituted in 1833.



the Catholic Faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary for salvation."

(ii) *Peter-pence* and other minor payments withdrawn from Pope.

(iii) *Dispensations*, Licences and Faculties to be obtained from the Archbishop of Canterbury—not at Rome as hitherto, under pains of *præmunire*.

IV. The First Act of Succession :—

(i) Declares the marriage with Katharine "unlawful and void," and her daughter Mary illegitimate.

(ii) Declares the marriage with Anne "undoubtful, true, sincere, and perfect," and entails the Crown on Henry's children by her.

(iii) Requires from all subjects over age an oath to observe and maintain this Act: to deny the above statements in writing, printing or deed, punishable as treason; to deny them in word only, punishable as misprision of treason.

§ 11. Parliament was prorogued at the end of March, and in the following month signs appeared that the new departure would not pass unattacked. More and Fisher were imprisoned under the last-named Act: they were willing to swear to support the succession laid down by Parliament, but they would not swear, as was required in the oath devised beyond the terms of the Act, to an abjuration of "all faith, truth and obedience in any foreign authority, prince or potentate." The disapproval of men so widely respected impeded Henry's course. Besides, they were implicated in the "treasonable utterances" of Elizabeth Barton, a peasant-girl, whose epileptic ravings were accepted as prophecy, and gave her considerable vogue as *the Nun*, or *Holy Maid, of Kent*. She became the instrument of the clerical party; she prophesied that, should the King put away Katharine, he would die within seven months; and she was in communication with the Emperor. She was a real danger to the Crown, so was condemned by the Star Chamber; confessed her imposture at S. Paul's; was attainted of high treason by Parliament; and was, on May 5, executed with six accomplices. Chapuys, the Imperial Ambassador, furnishes the best justification for this severity in his comment: "This people is peculiarly credulous, and is easily moved to insurrection by prophecy."

Fisher, More, and the Nun of Kent, April—May, 1534.

The Final Breach with Rome: Summer, 1534.

Such protests availed nothing. Henry developed his threatening attitude into a definite course of Church-policy, generally following the constitutional procedure of allowing the Clergy to formally initiate, the Parliament to confirm, ecclesiastical changes. The Southern Convocation which sat concurrently with the first Parliamentary session of 1534, declared that "the Roman Bishop hath no greater jurisdiction given to him by God in this kingdom than any other foreign bishop." The Northern Convocation,* both Universities, and most of the dignified Clergy, subscribed a similar renunciation of this jurisdiction—the most formidable part of the Pope's Supremacy. On November 11 the Archbishop of Canterbury declared his independence of Rome, by dropping the description "*Apostolicæ Sedis legatus*," and resuming the ancient style of "*metropolitanus*."

Session vi.: *The [First] Act of Supremacy.*

§ 12. A week before this, on November 3, Parliament reassembled for its seventh session. Its very first act not only epitomised all the anti-Papal legislation of the recent years, but also appointed where the lapsed authority was henceforth to reside. The *Statute of the Supreme Head* is exceedingly short and comprehensive: here is the full text:—

[*Preamble*] "Albeit the King's Majesty justly and rightly is, and ought to be, the Supreme Head of the Church of England, and so is recognised by the Clergy of this Realm in their Convocation, yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this Realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same,

Be it enacted by authority of this present Parliament:—

[i] That the King our Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only Supreme Head in earth of the Church of England, called *Anglicana Ecclesia*, and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all the honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits, and commodities to the said dignity of

* The York Convocation was less comprehensive: it substituted "in the Holy Scriptures" for "given to him by God" (June 1). The University of Cambridge followed the Canterbury form (May 2): the University of Oxford adopted the York form (July 27).

Supreme Head of the same Church belonging and appertaining; and

[ii] That our said Sovereign Lord, his heirs and successors, Kings of this Realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, heresies, abuses, offences, contempts and enormities, *whatsoever they be*, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained or amended,

[*Objects.*] Most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity and tranquillity of this Realm,

[*Obstacles.*] Any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any other thing or things to the contrary hereof notwithstanding."

Nor was this all. "For the augmentation of the royal estate and the maintenance of the Supremacy," the first-fruits of all benefices and the tenths of the annual income of all livings were annexed to the Crown for ever.* And as a sort of pendant to the Act last quoted, it was, by a *Supremacy-Treasons Act*, made treason

"to deprive the King or his successors of the dignity, style, and name of their royal estates, or slanderously and maliciously to publish or pronounce by words or writing that the King is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the Crown."

The Execution of Fisher and More, 1535.

§ 13. "Penal statutes," remarks Lingard on these measures, "might enforce conformity; but they could not produce conviction." Cromwell gave, however, a choice between intellectual and judicial conviction: men must either accept the new *régime* or suffer for it by death. The whole legislation was so novel that it required a commentary to drive home its meaning: by way of practical illustration, Cromwell urged the King to make an example of some leading dissentients, and to give a sample of his ecclesiastical reforms (§ 14). Pope Henry was the golden image which King Henry VIII. had set up, and which all his subjects must bow down to and, in a way, worship. They might think what they liked, but whatever they thought,

* They were restored to the Church, but not to the Pope, by Mary, 1555 (ch. vi., § 9); resumed by the Crown in the first year of Elizabeth (ch. vii., § 5); and again made over to the Church by Anne in 1704, forming the basis of the fund for increasing the incomes of poor benefice-holders known as *Queen Anne's Bounty*.

they must do what they were bid, or else face the burning fiery furnace of Henry's wrath.

On January 15, 1535, Henry formally assumed by Proclamation the title SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH; and attempts were made to enforce his acceptance as such by all prominent persons. On June 9 another Proclamation ordered the erasure from mass-books, etc., of all mention of the Bishop of Rome and "his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority." Already many Carthusian monks and many Friars Observant (the "straitest sect" of the Franciscans) had been imprisoned and either burned, hanged, or starved to death for denying this "new Papacy"—as Chapuys had long ago called it. The new Statute of Treasons was now set to work against the more distinguished men, More and Fisher, who had already been imprisoned for refusing to take the oath to observe the Succession Acts (§ 11). Fisher was found guilty of maliciously and traitorously denying the King to be Head of the Church. While in prison, the new Pope, Paul III., named him Cardinal; and Henry remarked: "Paul may send him the hat: I will take care that he never have a head to wear it on." The threat was fulfilled by his execution on June 22, 1535.

Meanwhile, despite an able defence, which rested mainly on the fact that he had cautiously avoided expressing any opinion on questions connected with the Divorce, More had been condemned. The words—probably false, for they were on the evidence of Rich—which secured his condemnation put his real opinion well enough: "The Parliament cannot make the King Head of the Church, because it is a civil tribunal without any spiritual authority." To the belief in the divine authority of the Pope which lurked beneath this sentence More is said to have been converted by Henry's own book against Luther (ch. ii., § 11). That consideration had no more effect to save him than Henry's old friendship or Cranmer's solicitations; and on July 6 he was executed. His last words on the scaffold happily illustrated that blending of geniality and courage which characterised his life. He raised his head from the block to move his beard out of the way: "Pity that should suffer: *that* has not committed treason!"

§ 14. The death of More—that "soul purer than snow," as he was described by Erasmus, the old comrade who a year afterwards followed him to the grave—and of Fisher, the well-tried family-friend of the Tudors, sent a shock through Europe. But Henry felt that it was not enough to show by terror how much might be involved by his assertion that "the Sovereign hath no superior in earth, and is not subject to the law of any creature." He must needs exhibit the practical utility of the powers belonging to his spiritual Headship. Early in 1535, therefore, Cromwell was appointed Royal Vicegerent, Vicar-General, and Principal Commissary—

Cromwell as Vicar-General, 1535.

"with all the spiritual authority belonging to the King as Head of the Church, for the due administration of justice, and in all cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and the godly reformation and redress of all errors, heresies and abuses in the said Church."

As Vicar-General, Cromwell, layman though he was, was a few years later given precedence over the Primate: in Parliament, in Convocation, in all England, in fact, he was to all intents and purposes the legate of the new regal papacy. The powers which Wolsey derived from the Pope, and was permitted to exercise by the King, were now vested in Cromwell's hands by the King himself. Cromwell began his official career by issuing a circular letter suspending the exercise of all episcopal power during a royal visitation. After an interval the bishops were required to beg leave of their Supreme Head to resume their official duties, and were then given individual commissions to do whatever belonged to the office of a bishop. All the bench submitted to this novel demand. Similarly, Cromwell hit upon the happy notion of "tuning the pulpits." Every parish-priest was to preach on prescribed lines in favour of the Royal Headship in causes spiritual; the bishops were made responsible for the inferior clergy, the sheriffs for the bishops; failing them, Cromwell's spies were everywhere, and any neglect or half-heartedness was sharply punished. "Men felt," says Erasmus, "as though a scorpion lay sleeping beneath every stone."

A more notable outcome of the transference of the supreme visitatorial power over the Church to the civil authorities

at home was the commission issued during 1535 for the visitation of the monasteries. The real motive was the King's desire to obtain some at least of their wealth; the pretext was religious reform; and the political justification was the unwisdom of leaving untouched the Regular Clergy, who in institution and working alike were, as a rule, closely dependent on the Pope. If the precedent of 1416, whereby the *alien priories—i.e.*, religious houses depending on foreign houses—were vested in the Crown, was defensible, much more was it at the present juncture expedient to follow up the punishment of a few Carthusians and Franciscans by a blow at the entire "Papal militia." The heavy task of visitation was hurriedly carried out in the summer of 1535 by agents of professed unscrupulousness, the chief of whom were Doctors Legh and Leghton, commissaries in the North Country. Their report was ready early next year, and its general tone is sufficiently obvious from its title, *The Black Book*. The destruction of that document, either by its authors or by Queen Mary, leaves us in doubt as to whether the evidence they collected in answer to their list of eighty-six interrogatories (or written inquiries) was enough to establish their conclusion that the smaller houses at least were dens of iniquity. The charges brought against them were indolence, ignorance, and immorality.

Royal Visitation of the Religious Houses, 1535.

Doubtless, owing to the conditions of monastic life, there was a good deal of truth in these charges. Morton had found the charges true at S. Albans. Wolsey had the belief in his mind in the dissolutions which Cromwell had carried out for him. Certainly the opinion of many leaders of thought in that day was dead against monasticism. The Oxford Reformers were not alone in railing or rebuking monkish follies and sins. Neither Luther's "In the cloister rule the seven deadly sins," nor Bruno's "*Insani fugiunt mundum immundumque sequuntur*,"* can be discredited simply because they are epigrams. So far as one can see, the smaller houses at least were useless if not noxious, and provided their forfeited revenues were used as they were at first meant to be, their suppression was advisable.

* "Mad folk who shun the world and follow impurity."

The Suppression of the Smaller Monasteries, February 1536.

Anyhow, the Long Parliament in its last session, during the winter of 1535-6, authorised the dissolution of all religious houses whose incomes did not exceed £200 a year; vested their property in the King, his heirs and assigns, "to do and use therewith of their own wills to the pleasure of Almighty God and the honour and profit of the realm"; and entrusted the management of such property to a new body called the *Court of Augmentations*. The annual revenue of the 276 religious houses actually dissolved under the Act was estimated at £32,000, and the movables at £100,000. There was much talk of founding new bishopries and new schools, but most of the spoil went to the King's own amusements and amusers. Scant provision was made for the ousted religious: superiors were pensioned for life; monks under twenty-four years of age were absolved from their vows, whilst others were either drafted into larger houses or given secular work; nuns received a gown apiece. Of the more general aspects of the suppression it will be convenient to speak later (ch. iv., §§ 7, 8).

Review of the Reformation Parliament.

§ 15. On March 31, 1536, the eventful Seven Years' Parliament was dissolved. Early in this chapter (§ 3), we saw something of the motives and influences at work within it: turn we now and see what were its achievements. Certainly it had not become "Protestant" or introduced "the Protestant religion." What had happened? Simply this: two monarchs, who had hitherto shared the spiritual obedience of England, had quarrelled, and the local monarch had carried with him the local population. The King, who had hitherto deferred to the Pope, had differed with him on a point of morals; Parliament, half led, half driven by that King, had effected a revolution, under the forms of law, in the relations of Church and State in England; and to this revolution the Clergy had given a kind of compulsory voluntary assent in their lawful assemblies or Convocations. This revolution had both an external and an internal aspect; and it is well to remember, that these aspects, though necessarily related, were susceptible of

mutual relations quite different from those actually established during these seven years.

1. The External Aspect: Church and Pope.

First, then, the ancient Anglican Church had "revolted from Rome." That is to say, various powers which the Bishop of Rome had come to exercise over the Churches in the West were repudiated by England, both as a Church and as a State. These powers—Administrative, Taxative, and Judicial—had grown out of the practice of referring ecclesiastical disputes to the most honoured Apostolic See of Western Europe: an occasional arbiter had in fact developed sovereign claims, and these claims had been so widely recognised as to pass for rights. All this was now done away with: just as the temporal feudal suzerainty of the Pope, acknowledged by King John in 1213, was cast off in 1366, so now the ecclesiastical powers of the Papacy—some here, as elsewhere (Intro., §§ 5, 6), always disputed, some long acquiesced in—were repudiated. Nothing was said against the precedence of the Bishop of Rome amongst Christian bishops: the way was, in fact, left open for the renewal of communion between the English and Roman Churches. Only it was denied that the spiritual primacy of the Pope meant his universal ecclesiastical supremacy.

2. The Internal Aspect: Church and King.

Secondly, the Anglican Church, though it shook itself free from foreign connections, did not thereby get back its independence. The King simply took over the powers (with the emoluments attached) that of late had been "usurped" by the foreigner; annexed the bulk of the landed property of that class of the Clergy which was most deeply pledged to the championship of Papal claims—the Regulars; and in Gneist's comprehensive phrase "became the universal heir of the Papacy." The Church once above, long side by side with, now fell beneath, the Kingship—*i.e.* the lay power (Intro., § 29). The Royal Supremacy, which in William the Conqueror's time had been merely regulative, had vastly widened its limits and developed its machinery: the Pope's compliment to S. Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, had become, for a time, a true description of the English King—Henry was indeed "*alterius orbis Papa.*"

The Work of the Reformation Parliament.

HENRY VIII.'S 8TH PARLIAMENT, 1529-36.

1529. SESSION I. [6 weeks : 21 Hy. VIII.]. General Pardon, except for treason and offences under Statt. of Provisors and Præmunire, 2; acts about *Sanctuaries, Probate, Mortuaries, Clerical Trading, Non-Residence,* and *Pluralities,* 1.

[**1530** (September). Royal Proclamation against the introduction of Bulls from Rome.]

1531. SESSION II. [10 weeks : 22 Hy. VIII.]. Acts pardoning both the Clergy of Southern Province and all the Laity for Præmunire, 2.

1532. SESSION III. [17 weeks: 23 Hy. VIII.]. Acts dealing with *Benefit of Clergy* and *Mortmain,* 1; pardon of Clergy of N. Province, 2; **1st Act** (conditional) **in Restraint of Annates,** 2 (c. 20) R. R. The Commons' **Supplication against the Ordinaries.**

1533. SESSION IV. [6 weeks: 24 Hy. VIII.]. **1st Act in Restraint of Appeals,** 2 (c. 12), R. R. [July 9, King by Proclamation puts in force the 1st Act of Annates.]

1534. SESSION V. [10 weeks: 25 Hy. VIII.]. Besides acts dealing with *Benefit of Clergy,* 1, *Pluralities,* 1, and *Heresy,* passes :—

(*a*) **2nd Act in Restraint of Appeals** or **Statute of the Submission,** 2 (c. 19) : R. R.

(*b*) **2nd Act in Restraint of Annates,** 2; *congé d'élire* (c. 20) : R. R.

(*c*) Act against *Papal Dispensations, Peter Pence,* and *Papal Visitations,* 2 (c. 21) : R. R.

(*d*) **1st Act of Succession,** 3 (c. 22).

1534-5. SESSION VI. [13 weeks : 26 Hy. VIII.].

(*a*) **Act of the Supreme Head,** 3 (c. 1) : R.

(*b*) **1st Act of Succession (Oaths),** containing, in set terms, oath of Supremacy, 3 (c. 2).

(*c*) Act vesting *Annates in Crown,* 3 (c. 3).

(*d*) **Treasons Act,** in connexion with (*a*) : (c. 13).

(*e*) *Suffragan Bishops' Act,* 3, R.R.

1536. SESSION VII. [10 weeks : 27 Hy. VIII.]. Acts dealing with *ecclesiastical courts, canons,* 3 (King to appoint 32 commissioners to revise them), *first-fruits,* and *tithes* : also **an Act giving King all religious houses of less than £200 annual value** (c. 28), and an act constituting a *Court of Augmentations.*

CONVOCATION, ETC.

Southern Convocation meets in S. Paul's and debates on Reform of Abuses.

[Consultation of the Universities of Europe.]

Convocations buy pardon by

(*a*) Lump Sums :
£18,840 0*s.* 10*d.*, N.
£100,044 8*s.* 8*d.*, S.

(*b*) **Recognition of the Headship.**

S. Convocation proscribes Confession of Augsburg, petitions against payment of *Annates,* and agrees to the **Submission of the Clergy.**

Both Convocations debate on the Divorce :
May 23, Archbp. Cranmer pronounces marriage with Katharine null.

Both Convocations and Universities declare against exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope [Clement VII., who had on July 11, 1533, annulled marriage with Anne, and on March 31, 1534, declares marriage with Katharine valid].

June 9, **1535,** King proclaims abrogation of Papal power in England. Fisher and More beheaded.

Oct. **1535** : *Royal Visitation of the Monasteries* begun.

NOTE.—*Reform in* **Church-Government** *only* : the Convocation which meets alongside of the 9th Parl., begins **doctrinal** reform by putting forth the **Ten Articles.**

N.B.—The **Statute of the Six Articles, 1539,** lacks the authority of Convocation.

EXPLANATIONS.—Acts figured [1] deal with ecclesiastical abuses, [2] are anti-papal, [3] deal directly with the Royal Supremacy; acts under both [2] and [3] deeply affect the internal relations of Church and State. When 'R.' is appended to an act, it means that that act was repealed by 1 & 2 Philip & Mary, c. 8; if a second 'R.' is added, that act was revived by 1 Elizabeth, c. 1. The formula 21 Hy. VIII. = the twenty-first year of Henry VIII.'s reign, the regnal year in this case beginning on April 22.

CHAPTER IV.

Henry VIII. and the Contending Church Parties.

1536—1547.

§ 1. External and Internal Difficulties besetting Henry VIII.'s Regal Papacy.—§ 2. The Cambridge Gospellers, and Tyndale's *English Bible*, 1525—36.—§ 3. The *Ten Articles* of 1536 as a National Confession of Faith.—§ 4. The Religious, Social, and Political Unrest: (*a*) The Lincolnshire Rising of October 1536.—§ 5 (*b*) The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536—37.—§ 6. The Council of the North; the Geraldines, the Courtnays, and the Poles, 1536—41.—§ 7. The Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries, 1539.—§ 8. Political and other Aspects of the Dissolution of the Monasteries.—§ 9. Illustrations of the Policy of Centralisation in England, Wales, and Ireland, 1536—43.—§ 10. Illustrations of Henry's Orthodoxy and Supremacy, 1538.—§ 11. *The Statute of the Six Articles*, 1539.—§ 12. Queens Anne Boleyn and Jane Seymour, 1533—37.—§ 13. Henry's Marriage with Anne of Kleves, January 1540; Fall of Cromwell, June 1540; his Policy.—§ 14. Henry and his last two Queens—Katharine Howard and Katharine Parr, 1541—47.—§ 15. Henry's Reforms in the Doctrine and Worship of the English Church, 1540—47; his last words on Religion, 1544.—§ 16. War with Scotland, 1542—44.—§ 17. War with France, 1544—46.—§ 18. King and Parliament: Finance, Legislation, and Administration.—§ 19. The Howards and the Seymours; Henry's Death and Character.

The Difficulties of the Regal Papacy: 1. Abroad.

§ 1. Pope Henry did not find his new dignity a bed of roses. England had drawn within her shell, but though insular she was not isolated: she was exposed both to foreign interference and to foreign influence. Abroad, Francis I.'s abandonment of Henry in 1533 in consequence of Henry's rejection of his mediation (ch. iii., § 9), left England without an ally. But there was little risk in these days of a crusade on behalf of the Papacy; and from what little risk there was Henry was soon saved by the renewal of the war between Charles V.

and Francis in 1536: both Emperor and King were more intent upon their own interests than upon the unity of Catholicism—or for that matter (seeing that Francis now formally allied himself with the Turks) than upon the welfare of Christendom; and the Papacy feared their union to force upon it ecclesiastical reform by means of a General Council more than it desired their union to put down Lutheran and other German "heresies." Meanwhile the chief cause of the personal estrangement between Charles and Henry was removed by the death of Katharine in January 1536.

2. At Home.

At home, the revolution, like all revolutions, divided men into vehement partisans: some thought Henry had gone too far in completely breaking with Rome; while others thought he had not gone far enough, because he adhered to the doctrine and ritual which had been elaborated by the Catholic Church under the guidance of Rome. The Royal Supremacy, as developed by Henry VIII., was no more a new invention than the Papal Supremacy, as developed by Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, had been: both were historic growths whose sudden burst into maturity alarmed, each in its own way, the average conservative mind that resents as an infringement of a Divine order the upsetting or remodelling of a system to which it is accustomed.

Submerged Religious Feeling in England.

On the other hand, those who were predisposed towards any new thing wished Henry not to content himself with adopting an anti-Papal attitude in Church government, but to take up an anti-Catholic position in Church doctrine. There had long been many such in England. So early as Henry VII.'s reign an Italian visitor mentions, in the course of a eulogy of the English as regular in their daily attendance at Mass and generally religious, that there were in England "many who had various opinions concerning religion." These were probably survivals of the old Lollard movement (Intro., § 21, p. 39): but after Luther's rise the many rapidly became more under the influence of Lutheran ideas which percolated into England by means of wandering students, smuggled books, and foreign immigrants or resident aliens.

§ 2. Among the first Englishmen to be influenced by the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith only was a group of men—Thomas Bilney, George Stafford, Hugh Latimer, Robert Barnes—who drew together about 1524, as the Oxford Reformers had done thirty years before (ch. ii., § 1), and who, starting mostly from the same ground of desire for classical learning, came to devote themselves so exclusively to the Bible that they acquired the name of the "Cambridge Gospellers." They were soon accused of heresy, and compelled to choose between what they felt, and what they were told, to be the truth. At a great burning of heretical books held by Wolsey at S. Paul's, on February 11, 1526, Barnes recanted; and Bilney did the same a year later: afterwards, when they again set about their evangelistic work, Barnes fled over-sea, and Bilney was burned by Bishop Nixe of Norwich in 1531.

The Cambridge Gospellers.

The movement did not die with these leaders or under the severe repressive measures undertaken by both the bishops and the lay authorities such as Lord Chancellor More. The Eastern Counties were honeycombed with heresy: in them there were numerous Flemings—there are said to have been 15,000 Flemish weavers in London alone, and "every weaver was a heretic"; and there was a kind of evangelical missionary organisation, somewhat after the manner of Wyclif's "Poor Priests," known as "the Christian Brotherhood." Their great weapon was the *English New Testament*, which William Tyndale, an Oxford man living in exile, published at Worms in 1526, and which he followed up by English versions of parts of the Old Testament, as he could turn them out. In translating the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, Tyndale was not only following Luther, whose German New Testament had appeared in 1522, but also acting in accordance with the best thought of his time. Where he gave offence was in his use of the Bible as a party instrument: when in his *Practice of Prelates* (1530) he called it "the chiefest of the Apostles, and Pope, and Christ's Vicar, and Head of the Church, and Head of the General Council," he was really flinging down a challenge to every recognised authority in Church and

Tyndale's *English Bible*. 1526—1536.

State. Partly because of this, partly because of his attitude to the Divorce, Tyndale incurred Henry's hostility, and it was partly through Henry that he was burned for heresy at Vilvoorde, in Flanders, on October 6, 1536.*

Henry VIII. in Search of a National Confession of Faith.

§ 3. Before his death Tyndale saw things in England moving in the direction in which he wished them to move; and his own dying prayer—"The Lord open the King of England's eyes!"—was being, in a sense, fulfilled. So early as 1529 a Royal Proclamation announced an English Bible by "great, learned, and Catholic persons"; and in 1535 Miles Coverdale's Version—though not formally authorised—was circulating freely throughout England (cf. § 15). In the same year Latimer and Shaxton, whose leanings towards Lutheranism were notorious, were appointed bishops, and Henry was, for political purposes, negotiating an alliance with the League of Schmalkalde on the basis of accepting the *Augsburg Confession* (ch. iii., § 1). The latter scheme, however, failed completely, for Henry could not but jib at running in harness with his old opponent Luther (ch. ii., § 11).

The upshot of this was that Henry resolved to nationalise the belief, as he had already nationalised the government, of the English Church. He would be bound neither by the German theologians nor by the Roman theologians about to be assembled in the General Council which was being discussed, while at the same time he would show the conservatives that it was possible to be Catholic without being Papal, the innovators that it was possible to be Christian without ceasing to be Catholic. He had beheaded More and Fisher in 1535 for denying his Supremacy, and he had burnt John Fryth in 1533 for holding heterodox opinions on the Eucharist and on the need of enforcing religious uniformity. Henry now

* Some account of Tyndale's translation of the Bible, and of the later versions based upon it, will be found in Mr. Low's companion volume on the *History of English Literature* in this Series; as will also a notice of Tyndale's controversy with More in 1529—30. This controversy well illustrates the important point mentioned in Intro., § 25, p. 48—how far men were from the idea of Toleration as a practicable thing. For readable narratives (from a martyrological point of view) of the religious activity going on beneath the surface down to 1536, the student may consult the Rev. Henry Worsley's *Dawn of the Reformation in England*, or Father Bridgett's Lives of *Blessed John Fisher* and *Blessed Thomas More*.

followed up his negative lessons of repression by lessons of positive instruction. He condescended to explain, and in so doing illustrated the working of the Supremacy as a teaching power.

The Ten Articles, July 1536.

The new Convocation that met in May 1536 consented to the *Ten Articles* "devised by the King's Highness' Majesty to stablish Christian quietness and unity amongst us and to avoid contentious opinions." The chief features of this National Confession of Faith were no less noteworthy than the appearance of an English King as an authoritative formulator of doctrine and the general acceptance of him as such. The *Ten Articles* were conservative and non-committing; and they tried, by drawing a distinction between essentials and non-essentials, and by limiting the number of the former, to lessen the burden of the vast body of belief that had been built up by the Church (Intro., § 22; ch. ii., §§ 1, 2).

(i) *Grounds of Faith:* the Bible, the three Creeds, the decisions of the first Four Œcumenical Councils, and the traditions of the Early Fathers [§ 1].

(ii) *Articles Necessary to Salvation:* the Sacraments of Baptism, Penance, and the Altar [§§ 2-4]—the rest* of the Seven Sacraments being—not denied but—passed over in silence; and Justification [§ 5].

(iii) *Articles not Necessary*, but to be retained as "good and laudable": Images, Honour and Prayer to the Saints, Rites and Ceremonies, and Purgatory [§§ 5-10].

The Reception Accorded to the *Ten Articles*, 1536.

§ 4. The adoption of these Articles was at once enforced on the Clergy by the issue of Royal Injunctions, and their meaning was expounded for the benefit of clerk and layman alike, in a commentary issued by the King with the approval of Convocation, and entitled *The Institution of a Christian Man* (or *the Bishops' Book*). But in days when the authority of the Pope, with the prestige of an apparently unbroken and unchanging tradition at his back, was being attacked, it was not likely that the utterances of a brand new doctrinal authority would find unchallenged acceptance. The Papal authority was believed by many to be based on Divine law: the Royal authority was very manifestly based on

* These are Matrimony, Orders, Confirmation, and Extreme Unction.

human law and remained unconvincing. The contents of the *Ten Articles* too, no less than their origin, laid them open to question: they were too orthodox to please the innovating party in the Church; while the tincture of Lutheranism in the definition of the Eucharist and Justification offended the conservative-minded. The comparative strength of the tendencies of religious feeling in the country at this time may perhaps be measured by the fact that whereas the innovators kept quiet, or made but individual protests, the conservatives felt strong enough to resist in arms.

There were other motives besides religion at work. The King's sweeping measures and arbitrary conduct during the last few years had aroused considerable opposition in Parliament, and outside they caused a widespread dissatisfaction, which came to a head in the autumn of 1536. Whether the whole country sympathised or not with the movement does not appear: certainly in the North and West—always, till the Nineteenth Century, the most backward part of the country—all classes were full of grievances. The Clergy led the way in objecting to the spoliations and innovations to which the Church had been subjected in so high-handed a manner. There were rumours of an intention to follow up the attack on the smaller monasteries by closing the parish-churches; and Cranmer, who was credited with this and other designs, was spoken of as one who "subverted the faith of Christ." The secular government gave equal offence to the great landowners. The Nobility hated the predominance of new men in the Council—particularly Vicar-General Cromwell and Attorney-General Rich: "Thou art," Cromwell was told to his face in Council, early in 1537, "the very special and chief cause of all this rebellion and wickedness, and dost daily travail to bring us to our ends and strike off our heads." The gentry were sore about the recent *Statute of Uses* (note, p. 123). The lower classes joined with these in resenting the suppression of the religious houses; for the monks were the schoolmasters to their children as well as to those of gentle blood, and they were kindly landlords to boot.

Various Causes of National Discontent, 1536.

The first rising took place in Lincolnshire in October:

its grievances, which have just been recounted, were summed up in the *Horncastle Petition*. It was a distinctly popular movement, but Lord Hussey, whose duty it was to put it down, showed a passive sympathy with it by quitting the country—a sympathy for which he afterwards atoned by his death. Their leader, who called himself Captain Cobler, led a mob to Lincoln, but the whole movement fell at once to pieces when Sir John Russell and the Duke of Suffolk appeared. The ringleaders of the insurgents were executed, and a rough answer was returned to their petition.

The Rising in Lincolnshire, 1536.

§ 5. The insurrection in Yorkshire was a different affair: it was the first real danger at home since the rising of the Cornishmen, forty years before (ch. i., § 5). It was tinged with a distinctly religious colour: it called itself the "Pilgrimage of Grace"; all who took part in it wore as a badge the Five Wounds of Christ; and from all there was exacted an oath which summed up their motives, methods, and objects, in binding them—

The "Pilgrimage of Grace," 1536.

"for the love which they bore to Almighty God, His faith, the Holy Church and the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the King's person and issue; to the purifying of the Nobility; and to expulse all villein blood and evil counsellors from his Grace and Privy Council: not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, but for the restitution of the Church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions."

So ably was the rising organised by a young lawyer named Robert Aske that a very few days after the raising of their banner York and Hull opened their gates to the insurgents. Pomfret was soon surrendered by Lord Darcy, who became second in command, and all the five northern counties were won over, with the exception of the castles of Skipton and Scarborough. Numbering 30,000 men, "tall and well horsed," they pushed southwards, till they were fronted at Doncaster by 5000 men and a park of artillery, under the Earl of Shrewsbury and the Duke of Norfolk. Being unable to pass the swollen Don, they entered into negotiations, and to some extent disbanded; but on a delay in receiving an answer from the King to their demands, they reassembled in November, when, at

Norfolk's earnest entreaty, Henry promised a general pardon and a free Parliament at York. Aske possessed very fully the disinterestedness claimed in the oath of the pilgrim-rebels and eagerly accepted the terms.

The Second Yorks Rising, 1537.

Unfortunately for Henry's good fame, Cromwell's advice outweighed Norfolk's, and the terms were not kept. Under pretence of making preparations for the promised Parliament, Norfolk garrisoned the chief towns throughout the disaffected district, and advantage was taken of an abortive rising, under Sir Francis Bigod, in March 1537, to withdraw the general pardon. The leaders of the old movement were, probably without justice, implicated. Darcy was beheaded in London, and in June Aske was hung in chains at York. Martial law was established throughout the North Country, and Norfolk seems to have in no wise fallen behind the King's express injunctions to

"cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of the inhabitants of every town, village and hamlet that have offended in this rebellion, as well by the hanging of them up in trees, as by the quartering of them and the setting of their heads and quarters in every town, great and small, and all such other places as they may be a fearful spectacle to all hereafter that would practise any like matter: which we require you to do *without pity or respect*."

The Council of the North, 1537.

§ 6. The Yorks rising was first localised with a skill that savoured of trickery, and then crushed, by way of example, with a thoroughness that savoured of barbarism. With similar severity the almost contemporaneous revolt in Ireland was put down, and its leaders, the Geraldines, put to death in the spring of 1537 (ch. x., § 6). And just as the Geraldine revolt was the excuse for introducing a new order of things beyond the Irish channel (ch. x., § 7), so were these disorders in the North an excuse for tightening the grip of the Central Government on the comparatively isolated district beyond the Trent. In 1537 the local department of the Privy Council which had long had an intermittent existence in that region, was set up afresh, and put on a permanent footing. Henceforth, till the extensive use made of it by its President, Sir Thomas Wentworth (Strafford), caused its abolition in 1641, the Court of the Council of the North met in session

four times a year at York, Hull, Durham, and Newcastle, and exercised full administrative and judicial powers over "Northumbria."

The Courtnays and the Poles, 1537—41.

There seemed for a moment a possibility of a similar outbreak to the Pilgrimage of Grace taking place in the West of England—as in point of fact did come to pass some years later (ch. v., § 9). The Courtnays and the Poles, two Devon families of the blood-royal (Table, p. xii.), were restless; and Reginald Pole had exhibited a strenuous hostility to the recent changes in England. Pole had given up Henry's friendship through disapproval of the Divorce, and had accepted a Cardinal's hat from Paul III. at the end of **1536**: he now twice travelled towards England as Papal Legate—once in the hope of keeping the North in turmoil (**1537**), and again in **1539** to induce the Emperor and the French King to unite in carrying out the Bull of Deposition which in **1538** Paul III. launched against Henry. Both missions failed; and as Pole himself could not be reached, he was punished vicariously. "Pity that the folly of one witless fool," grimly observed Cromwell, "should be the ruin of so great a family." Edward Courtnay, Marquis of Exeter, and Henry Pole, Lord Montague, were executed in January **1539**; and Pole's mother, the aged Countess of Salisbury, was arrested about the same time, and after two years' imprisonment, was attainted and beheaded in May **1541**. Like Suffolk and Buckingham (ch. ii., § 11), they stood too near the throne to please Henry: such poppy-heads were best lopped off!

Parties in the Council, 1537—39.

§ 7. Many hoped that the smouldering discontent thus revealed to Henry would teach him moderation; and for the next few years the moderate party, under Norfolk and Gardiner, tried to secure by persuasion what they could of the rebels' armed requests, while Cromwell and Cranmer threw their weight on the other side. Neither faction got all they wished, for Henry had a tantalising habit of rounding on the party which seemed to have just gained a complete triumph, and of making it swallow one of its pet principles. On the whole, the Moderates held their own in doctrinal matters, while

Cromwell completely succeeded only when his policy told very decidedly in the King's favour. The short but busy Parliamentary session of 1539—only eleven public Acts appear on the statute-book, but quite half of these are of high importance*—admirably illustrates the activity of each of these parties.

The Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries, 1539.

In the first place Cromwell put the finishing touch to his work of 1535—36 in suppressing the Regulars, and thoroughly earned his name, "*Malleus Monachorum*"—the "Hammer of the Monks." They had found champions in the Pilgrimage of Grace: that proved them to be more popular than the Seculars, and consequently more dangerous. Besides, they were less loyal (cf. ch. iii., §§ 2, 14): no less than twelve abbots were hanged, and the houses over which they presided, by a great stretch of law, confiscated—for their share in the Pilgrimage. Over and above the monasteries dissolved by the Long Parliament, there yet remained the larger monasteries, which had been expressly preserved by the Parliament in 1536 because of their good conduct, and the convents of friars, which had been hitherto neglected through their poverty. The method of procedure was somewhat different from that employed previously. Commissioners, headed by the Earl of Sussex, were sent round the northern counties to inquire into the conduct of the religious houses, and their success stimulated activity in the South also. The result was either voluntary or purchased surrenders† to the Crown; or, if the abbots held out against pressure, a real or fictitious charge of immorality, peculation, or high treason, led to the confiscation of the lands and property of the monastery. The inmates fared better than those of the smaller houses had fared—the superiors receiving from £6 to £266 per annum, monks from £2 to £6, and nuns about £4; but though £34,000 a year is said to have been set apart for the ejected Religious,

* These are 31 Hen. VIII. c. 6 (*Monasteries*); c. 7 (Statutes passed during a *King's minority*, liable to be rescinded as invalid when he has attained the age of twenty-four); c. 8 (*Proclamations*: § 9); c. 9 (*Bishops* of new sees to be appointed by letters-patent, omitting the form of election); c. 10 (*Precedence*: ch. iii., § 2); c. 13 (*Religious Houses*); c. 14 (the *Six Articles*: § 11.)

† These came in rather irregularly: 3 in 1536—37; 24, 174 and 76 respectively in the following years.

much hardship was caused by the expulsion of so many more or less helpless beings from their houses and occupations. A few refractory abbots—*e.g.*, of Reading, Colchester, and Glastonbury—suffered death as felons and traitors. The business attained formal completion when, in May **1539**, Parliament vested in the Crown for ever the properties of all such bodies already or hereafter to be suppressed.

The Use of the Confiscated Property.

§ 8. The income of the 616 religious houses existing in England at the beginning of these changes was £142,914, a sum variously estimated as one-fifth or one-twentieth of the total rental of the kingdom. The movables and the capitalised value of the lands and rents thus confiscated has been reckoned as amounting to £20,000,000 of our money. From the addition of such resources to the Crown much was hoped. The Commons looked for the abolition of pauperism and taxation: Henry promulgated a scheme for the establishment of eighteen new bishoprics, a yearly sum of £18,000 being set apart from the forfeited revenues for their endowment. These expectations were hardly realised. A year later a subsidy of two-tenths and two-fifteenths was extorted from Parliament. And only six new sees—Bristol, Chester, Gloucester, Peterborough, Oxford, and Westminster—were ultimately founded; and the last named of these survived only till **1552**. What became of the remainder no one quite knows: the Navy was strengthened, fortifications were built, and roads were made, but the mass of the wealth went in profuse grants to courtiers. It is on the elevation of so many new families—*e.g.*, the Cavendishes, the Dudleys, the Russells, and the Seymours—thus politically pledged to oppose any reconciliation with Rome that Hallam bases his approval of the measures adopted. Doubtless Parliament has the legal right to dispose of property as it pleases, and doubtless the King was sagacious in disposing as he did of the property given him. Still, the righteousness of the whole proceeding is—to say the least—highly questionable. And there is no doubt that the change of landowners enormously increased the distress that inevitably accompanied the economic changes that were at this time going on (ch. v., § 8; ch. xi., §§ 9, 10).

Some Constitutional Aspects of the Dissolution: 1. England.

The dissolution of the larger monasteries had an important bearing on the composition and balance of power of Parliament. After 1539 the mitred abbots—thirty-one in number at the time—disappeared from the Upper House. Thus for the first time the spiritual lords ceased to outnumber the lay lords: since that date there have been but twenty-six of the former against a number of the latter which has been constantly but irregularly increasing from about forty in 1539 to over five hundred in our own day. Two notable results at least followed: the Peerage, old and new, began to recover its old rank as an estate, whether for evil, as in the days of Edward VI., or for good, as often afterwards; and the Clergy, browbeaten in their own Convocations, and freely attacked with no possibility of reply in the House of Commons, were now deprived of their majority of two to one in the House of Lords. Which utter silencing of the Clergy was scarcely in accordance with the first clause of the Great Charter—"*ut Ecclesia Anglicana* libera *sit*."

2. Ireland.

The dissolution of the monasteries in Ireland—enacted by a law in Lord Deputy St. Leger's great Parliament of 1542—similarly effected a revolution in the structure of the Irish Parliament. The abbey-lands were there used as part of the bribe to induce the Irish chiefs to attend Parliament, and to accept the Royal Supremacy over the Irish Church (ch. x., §§ 8-10). This again illustrates how closely the assertion of the Supremacy is connected with the concentrating policy which marked the New Monarchy of the Tudors (Intro., §§ 14, 15).

§ 9. The years of Cromwell's ascendency were distinguished, not only as regards the Church but as regards the State also, by exceptional activity in this policy of consolidation and centralisation.

Development of the Prerogative: 1. Legislation.

On the legislative side, the power of the Crown was greatly advanced by the statute of 1539 giving the Proclamations of the King in Council the force of law. It is true that that power was not assumed as right, but granted by Parliament; that it was carefully hedged in by limitations to the effect that such Proclamations were not to be prejudicial to any person's inheritance, office, liberties, goods, and

chattels, or to infringe the established laws; and that no one by virtue of this Act (save for heresy) was to suffer the pains of death. Still, the latent possibilities of the Act were enormous: supposing these restrictions and qualifications were quietly dropped—as the qualification originally attached in Convocation to the *Recognition of the Headship* had been dropped (ch. iii., §§ 6, 12)—what then? It looked as though the English Kingship, which had already gone through the stages of tribal chieftainship, national leadership, foreign despotism, feudal lordship, bureaucratic sovereignty, and constitutional monarchy, was at length to enter the Imperial phase, as expressed in the maxim of the Roman law: *quod principi placuit legis habet vigorem*—"the Prince's pleasure is as good as law." Fortunately for England, Henry preferred the practical advantage of manipulating the law to the invidious dignity of being accounted "above the law."

2. Administration: *e.g.* the Union with Wales.

On the administrative side, the centralising policy of the Tudors was exhibited about this time, not only in the creation of the Council of the North, and in the endeavour to make a reality of the new title of "King of Ireland" assumed in 1542, but also in the almost complete amalgamation of Wales with England. Edward I.'s *Statute of Wales*, 1284, had partly established the English system of shires, administered by sheriffs and visited for the higher judicial work by circuit judges. This treatment was in the second Parliament of 1536 applied to those parts of the country which till then had been under the jurisdiction of the Lords-Marchers, of whom there were 141, and the fulness of their powers made them little kings. These districts, like the Principality proper 250 years earlier, were formed into shires, and English laws and customs substituted for native ones. In 1543 this measure was supplemented by an Act giving to Welshmen and others "a share in the making of the laws" which they were constrained to obey: Parliamentary representation was for the first time bestowed on the towns and counties of Wales, Calais, and Chester; and thus thirty-two members were added to the Commons. Henry VIII., though the great-grandson of Owen Tudor, was not in-

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fluenced by the Keltic blood in his veins to leave his Keltic subjects to their own methods of Government. Nor, in Wales at least, was his policy of anglicisation apparently unpopular: at any rate, Sir Henry Sidney, who was for nearly thirty years Elizabeth's President of the Council of Wales, described it as "a happy place of government, for a better people to govern, or better subjects to their sovereign, Europe holdeth not."

Party Aspects of the Statutes of 1539.

§ 10. If Cromwell's hand was seen in the two statutes of 1539 that gave the King fresh powers of legislation and fresh pecuniary resources, no less plainly can the hand of his opponents be discerned in the last Act of the session—the notorious *Statute of the Six Articles*. The novelties, slight as they were, in the formularies of faith put forth in 1536—37 (§§ 3, 4) had been fastened upon by hostile critics; and the *Six Articles* were the outcome of an ebullition of the King's resolve not to be taken for heretic; while the manner in which they were enacted and enforced was a lively witness to the reality of his Supremacy.

Henry's Orthodoxy, 1538.

The last three years had been full of illustrations of the stress laid by Henry on his orthodoxy and on his Supremacy. It is true that for a moment in 1538 he seemed to waver in the former respect: the fact that Francis and Charles, after two years' warfare, had come to terms in the *Truce of Nice*, induced Henry to enter into negotiations with the Princes of the League of Schmalkalde, and even to entertain three Lutheran theologians, Burkhard, Boyneburg, and Myconius, who came over to try to find a doctrinal basis of alliance. The mission failed; and though Francis similarly made friendly overtures to Melancthon, and Cardinals Pole and Contarini were at that moment working at Rome for the compromise with Lutheranism that broke down at the Conference of Ratisbon, 1541, the mere fact that Henry was out of communion with Rome gave an heretical appearance to his political semi-religious dealings with heretics. Yet in November 1538—the very year of the Lutheran mission—Henry presided at the trial of one John Lambert, one of Bilney's old disciples, and condemned him to be burnt for holding heretical views on the Eucharist.

Henry's Supremacy, 1538.

The year 1538, however, illustrated Henry's notion of the Supremacy much more fully than his orthodoxy. Friar Forrest was burned for his denial of the Supremacy, proclaiming from the midst of the flames, in answer to Latimer's exhortations, that "not even an angel from heaven should make him depart from the faith which he had believed in from his youth." The event was notable for two things: it was the first and the last occasion that denial of the Supremacy was punished not as treason against the State, but as heresy against the Church; and the fuel used was a wooden image of the Virgin, much resorted to by the Welsh, and known as Darvel Gathern. This scornful burning was part of a crusade against images, pictures, and shrines of saints. It was noticeable that the righteous anger of the authorities against such "superstition" had a curious way of not blazing out except when there was money to be made by it.

Amongst the shrines pillaged was that of S. Thomas of Canterbury. In April 1538, Thomas à Becket was summoned to appear as a traitor; as he allowed judgment to go by default, he was in August declared "a false saint and traitor to the Supreme Head of the Church"; and condemned for his rebellion, contumacy, and treason, to have his bones burnt, and his property—to wit, the offerings on his shrine at Canterbury—confiscated. It was a quaint but effective way of showing that the eighth Henry had won—and more than won—the cause of complete national autonomy in Church and State that the second Henry had lost.

The Statute of the Six Articles, July 1539.

§ 11. The year 1538 witnessed also the publication of Paul III.'s Bull of Deposition against Henry: the year 1539 witnessed his vengeance on Pole, the supposed instigator of the Bull (§ 6), and his demonstration that the Pope's view of him as a heretic was not true. In May 1539, two committees—consisting of the Vicar-General, the two archbishops, and six bishops—were appointed to draw up articles of faith. Henry grew impatient at their non-agreement; drew up six articles on leading points; put them to Convocation in the form of questions and by the mouth of Cromwell; and had them

carried through the Parliament by Norfolk in June. This "Act for abolishing of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning the Christian religion" embodied the following points of doctrine, and attached penalties to their infraction:

(i.) *Articles.*—(1) "That in the most blessed Sacrament of the Altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance; but the substance of Christ, God and man."

(2) That communion under both kinds is not necessary to salvation, by the law of God, to all persons.

(3) That priests may not marry by the law of God.

(4) That vows of chastity or widowhood ought to be observed by the law of God.

(5) That private masses ought to be "continued and admitted in this the King's *English* Church and congregation; . . . and it is agreeable also to God's law."

(6) "That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented in the Church of God."

(ii.) *Penalties.*—(1) Denial of the first article to be punished both as heresy, by the burning of the body (without the option of abjuring); and as treason, by the forfeiture of goods to the Crown.

(2) Denial of the remaining five to be punished as felony.

(3) The actual breach of the third and fourth articles to be punished as felony.

(iii.) *Enforcement.*—Bishops and their deputies in their dioceses, Justices of the Peace in their sessions, and Stewards in the court-leet of hundred or manor, to enquire of all the aforesaid heresies.

The Reception Accorded to the *Six Articles*, 1539.

The severity of this law caused it to be called the "Bloody Bill"; but of the many persons arrested under it—as many as five hundred in a fortnight—only twenty-eight are known to have been put to death. Its scope was equally striking: we had had many laws made by the authority of Parliament for the punishment of such as should be declared to be heretics by the Church-courts, but none before in which a lay body took upon itself to define heresy. Its tendency was well expressed in one of the nicknames in use for it: it was indeed a "whip with six strings" for all persons with Protestant leanings. Latimer, of Worcester, and Shaxton, of Salisbury, at once resigned their sees. Cranmer shook in his shoes, as it was well known that, in defiance of the existing canon

law, he had a wife and children. As the Act laid down the penalty of death for cohabitation of this kind, Cranmer hastily packed off his family to Germany, and so escaped.

The six doctrines hereby declared to be essential were part and parcel of that system whose abuses had, for reasons which we have already glanced at (Intro., § 22), made it seem altogether abominable to all sanguine spirits who imagined that a system could be built up not liable to such perversion. The doctrine of Transubstantiation, affirmed by the first Article, in an extreme form, and under the strongest sanctions, was rapidly becoming recognised as the heart of the Catholic system: once allow that the priest's words of consecration could work a miracle, and it was next door to impossible to deny the divine character of the priesthood, the infallibility of the Church, and the absolute truth of its dogmatic system. This doctrine Luther attempted to rationalise in his doctrine of Consubstantiation (that the substance of Christ's Body and of the original bread are combined in the Sacrament), while the "Sacramentaries," who were influenced by the Swiss Reformers, denied it altogether, and reduced the Eucharist to a commemorative feast. We shall see that the doctrine is with us long accepted as a kind of badge of Romanism, and, by consequence, a test of political allegiance (ch. viii., §§ 1-3).*

* The following explanation of some of the difficult technical terms which are involved in this crucial controversy is taken from a treatise published 1867 called *The Kiss of Peace*. A Sacrament has three parts: *Signum Sacramenti* (or, "outward sign ordained by Christ Himself"); *Res Sacramenti* ("thing signified"); and *Virtus Sacramenti* (or "the benefit of receiving the same"). Applying these distinctions, there are *Three Eucharistic Theories*:—

(i) Consecration is the setting apart of the elements for a holy use: *Symbolism*. According to this theory (that of Zwingli) the participation in those elements is simply an expression of the Christian fellowship.

(ii) Consecration confers a *Potential Presence*: either (*a*) *Virtualism* (meaning that only the *virtue* or benefit of Christ's Body and Blood are received; or (*b*) *Realism* (meaning that the Body and Blood are *really* received). According to this theory the Person or Power of Christ is potentially in the consecrated elements; but it becomes actual only if the elements are received, and received "worthily."

(iii) Consecration effectuates the *Real Objective Presence* of Christ: *Transubstantiation*. According to this theory (one of the distinctive marks of Catholicism) the act of the priest in consecration (quite apart from the act of the recipient in communicating) converts the elements into the Body and Blood of Christ: this is a mystery which the Catholic Church accepts without professing to understand or explain. This theory declares against the Symbolist that there *is* a Presence, against the Virtualist that that Presence is a *real* Presence, and against the Realist that it is an *objective* not a *subjective* Presence [cf. Intro., § 22, p. 41]. The inner meaning of the Catholic doctrine is expounded for the lay mind in Professor Froude's paper on the *Philosophy of Catholicism* in the first series of "Short Studies on Great Subjects."

§ 12. Cromwell did not care a straw for theology, but he could not look on quietly while Norfolk and Gardiner were thus helping the King to take up a doctrinal position which, while it failed to conciliate Papal Powers, isolated him from the German Reformers whose hostility to the Pope he shared. To checkmate his political opponents, Cromwell, therefore, resolved on a move which proved fatal to himself: he meant to force the King, willy-nilly, into alliance with Lutheranism, and to bind that alliance closer, as the custom was, by marrying the King to a German princess. Henry was now a widower for the second time since his marriage with Anne Boleyn on S. Paul's Day, 1533 (ch. iii., § 8). Anne was not a success as Queen: she did not give birth to the hoped-for son; she was a standing offence to all such as looked with disfavour on the ecclesiastical revolution—hence her reputation of being "a spleeny Lutheran"; and Henry did not like her flirtations. On May 1, 1536, less than four months after the death of her old rival Katharine, she was arrested on a charge of adultery and other heinous offences, and within three weeks was condemned by a court of twenty-six peers, sitting under the presidency of her uncle, the Duke of Norfolk, as High Steward, and beheaded. The evidence adduced at her trial is lost, and the question of her guilt is little more than a shuttlecock for Catholic and Protestant historians to play with.

The Death of Queens Katharine and Anne, 1536.

On May 20, the very day after Anne's execution, Henry married Jane Seymour: and the Parliament which sat contemporaneously with the Convocation that authorised the *Ten Articles* (§ 3), attainted Anne, and passed a new *Succession Act* (ch. iii., § 10):

Jane Seymour: *Second Succession Act*, 1536.

(i) That the King's marriages with Katharine and Anne were both unlawful, and their issue—the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth—illegitimate.

(ii) That the Crown should descend to the sons of Henry and Jane, or their heirs, with remainder to Henry's children by any future wife.

(iii) That the King be authorised to limit the Crown, by his letters-patent or by his will, to whomsoever he would, "as if they had been lawful heirs to the Crown, or as if the Crown had been given and limited to them . . . by full and immediate authority of the High Court of Parliament."

The last clause was apparently meant to exclude James V. of Scotland, who, as we shall see (§ 16), was no favourite with Henry, and to make room for the admission to the Crown, by an unprecedented act on the part of the King, of Henry Fitz-Roy, Duke of Richmond, a natural son of Henry. The young Duke, however, died later in the year; and in October 1537 the long-desired son arrived, and was named Edward. The birth of an heir, as promising the continuance of Henry's work, was hailed by Latimer as a proof of the existence of "an *English* God."

Birth of a Son, 1537.

§ 13. Queen Jane died within a fortnight of her son's birth, and Cromwell was now set on filling her place with the Lutheran lady, Anne of Kleves. Her father was a leading Protestant prince, who possessed the Duchy of Kleves and other lands on both sides of the Rhine just before it enters the Netherlands. The alliance which Cromwell wished Henry to make with him would have committed England to Protestantism, and might possibly have antedated by eighty years that great decisive struggle between Catholic and Protestant in Germany, which actually took place in the Thirty Years' War (1618—1648). To take Henry's fancy, Cromwell induced Holbein to paint a deliberately flattering portrait of Anne, and he induced Henry to stomach his disappointment on seeing "the great Flanders mare," as he called her; but in July 1540, after barely six months' marriage, the King put her away. On the flimsy pretext that she had been precontracted, and that he had not given his "real inward assent" to the marriage, Convocation and Parliament agreed to declare it null. The churches that separated from Rome were no less prone than the Papacy had been, it would appear, to drive a coach and four through the strict marriage-law of the Mediaeval Church. Anne mildly retired into private life, with a pension of £3000, and the title of "the King's sister."

The Marriage with Anne of Kleves, 1540.

Henry's discovery that he had been his minister's tool in this matter sealed Cromwell's fate. His services in procuring the dissolution of the larger monasteries (§ 7), were in April 1540 rewarded with the earldom of Essex; but those very services seemed

Fall of Cromwell, June 1540.

the end of his probable usefulness, and so Henry allowed him to fall a victim to his unpopularity. On June 10 he was suddenly arrested for high treason at the Council Board. A Bill of Attainder passed readily through both Houses condemning him for peculation, heresy, and treason. The charges were technically true enough: he had received bribes and feathered his nest in collecting materials for the King's nest; he was certainly at the back of Dr. Barnes, the Austin friar and Cambridge Gospeller (§ 2), who a few months before had vehemently supported the doctrine of justification by faith against Gardiner; he had probably used the words attributed to him, "In brief time I will bring things to such a pass that the King with all his power shall not be able to hinder me." Yet, as Cranmer pleaded in his behalf, "he was such a servant in wisdom, vigilance, faithfulness, as no prince in this realm ever had: he had loved the King no less [he might have said 'a deal more'] than he loved God." Cromwell was beheaded on July 28—the first actual sufferer by the practice applied to Lady Salisbury (§ 6), condemnation without trial.

Cromwell was almost universally hated at the time, and has not been much liked since. It is easy to say he had no religion and no morals: it is more to the point to note that he had a purpose. That purpose went a step beyond Wolsey's in that it aimed at gathering the whole power in the State, ecclesiastical as well as civil, into the King's hands, and at exercising that power himself. Some of the secular aspects of his policy we have seen in considering the *lex regia* of 1539, and other consolidating measures (§ 9). His work in realising—or debasing to a "practical" level—the ideals of Cranmer for an independent national Catholic Church has been the main topic of two chapters. But it is in his methods that his peculiarity chiefly lay, and these he had learnt in Italy. Machiavelli's *Principe* bristles with precepts which connect themselves at once with his policy. Even if we disapprove of his aim, as we must perforce disapprove of his methods, we cannot but admire his clearness of view and his resolute energy. In character the statesman whom he recalls more than any other is Strafford—a man who, like Thomas Cromwell, has been called names

by the infallible. Strafford's *Thorough* is simply Cromwell's *Make or mar*—"which was always his common saying."

§ 14. The interest of the remainder of the reign centres round the King's domestic troubles, the renewal of hostilities with France and Scotland, and the party-struggles in the Council over the great central question what was to be the future character of the English Church. The first point may be briefly dismissed. On July 28, **1540**, the day of Cromwell's execution, and about a month after the divorce from Anne of Kleves, Henry married Katharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk. This was, of course, another triumph for the party rejoicing at Cromwell's fall. She was not Queen for long. In November **1541**, on returning from a journey to York in quest of a Scottish alliance (§ 16), the King was informed by Cranmer of Katharine's incontinency before and after marriage with one Dereham. The charge seems to have been true: anyhow, in the following February she and her abettor, Lady Rochford, sister-in-law to Katharine's cousin and predecessor Anne Boleyn (Table, p. 202), were executed. By the Bill of Attainder which condemned her, it was made high treason for a lady about to become a royal consort to conceal any such offences as Katharine's, and misprision of treason for any one to conceal the knowledge of the same.

Katharine Howard, Queen, 1540—42.

Katharine's execution, though a purely personal matter, was a blow at the Howards and the conservative party under Norfolk and Gardiner which had headed the reaction against Cromwell's tendencies towards Protestantism. Henry's next marriage had little significance: what it had pointed in the other direction. His choice fell on Katharine Parr,* relict of Lord Latimer, whom he married in July **1543**. This Katharine was an earnest advocate of the new doctrines: she was the patroness of Mrs. Kyme (better known by her maiden name of Anne Ayscough or Askew), who was burnt in **1546** for heretical notions on the Eucharist. Katharine was implicated by her enemy Gardiner, and

Katharine Parr, Queen, 1543—47.

* Her first husband was Lord Borough, who died before she was sixteen; her fourth was Lord Seymour of Sudeley (ch. v., § 10). She died in child-bed, 1548

even ventured to maintain her views against the King. Henry, of course, could not brook the lectures of a female theologian, and promptly prepared to arrest her. Katharine learnt her danger, told the King she had argued solely for her own edification and in order to distract his attention from the pain caused by an ulcer in his thigh, and was forgiven. Thenceforward she kept her notions to herself, nursed the decrepit, ill-humoured hulk that Henry had now become, and managed to outlive him.

Anglican Doctrine and Ritual, 1540—47.

§ 15. The fact that Henry could take to himself women of such different religious ideas as his two last wives is strongly indicative of his own position. He was, perforce, half-way between the old and the new. The same fact was demonstrated on July 30, 1540, by a scene which the French ambassador called "as painful as it was monstrous." Six convicts were drawn on hurdles to Tyburn: there three were burned as heretical Sacramentaries; three were hanged as treasonable deniers of the King's Supremacy. On the whole, whatever he was meditating when he died, Henry's last actual regulations concerning religion were hostile to innovations. His last doctrinal directory appeared in 1543 in the form of a volume issued with the authority of Convocation and called *The King's Book; or, the Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christened Man.* Just as the *Institution* (§ 4) had been a commentary, *in usum laicorum*, on the *Ten Articles* of 1536, so the *Erudition* was a similar guide to the *Six Articles*: it was naturally, therefore, much less characterised by the spirit of compromise.

Henry's Last Work and Words on Religion, 1544.

Henry's latter-day activity as Supreme Head was less in the sphere of doctrine than in that of worship. Here the spirit of the Renascence showed itself at work: instead of cramming a creed and a ritual, new or old, down men's throats, there was an endeavour, by the use of English, at once to counteract the tendency of heretical pamphlets and to show men the reasonableness of the services in which they were bidden to take part. He encouraged the use of the old ritual, while at the same time he sought to bring its meaning home to congregations by the use of English.

In 1542 Cranmer introduced the subject of liturgical revision to Convocation; in 1544 the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments and the "Hail Mary" were ordered to be used in English; and in 1545 there appeared a manual of private devotion in English called *The King's Prymer*. Meanwhile, in 1543, Henry had thought it right to put some restrictions on the reading of the English Bible that in 1538 he had ordered to be placed in every church.* Henry gave his reasons in an address to his Parliament in 1544: these his last words on religion were a lament, part bitter, part plaintive, that like as he had disputed the Pope's authority, so others disputed his authority:—

"Be not judges yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions; and although you be permitted to read Holy Scriptures and to have the Word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand it is licensed so to do only to inform your conscience and inform your children and families, not to make Scripture a railing and taunting stock against priests and preachers. I am very sorry to know and hear how irreverently that precious jewel, the Word of God, is disputed, rimed, sung and jingled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same. For of this I am sure: that charity was never so faint among you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself among Christians never less served. Therefore be in charity one with another, like brother and brother, and love, dread, and serve God, to which I, as your Supreme Head and Sovereign Lord, exhort and require you."

The War with Scotland, 1542—44.

§ 16. Despite the discomfort of his religious attitude, Henry tried to persuade his nephew, the Scottish King, to follow his example. James V. had in 1528 expelled Angus from power and the kingdom (ch. ii., § 5), and by the Act known as "the Erection," taken the government into his own hands. He declined to support Henry in the Divorce; his proposal for Mary's hand was rejected; he contracted two French marriages—the latter, with Mary of Longueville (a Guise), over Henry's head; he would not see Henry's

* The edition thus permitted to be placed in churches and there read by all who wished—an indulgence later extended to private reading—is known as *Matthew's Bible*. It was a slightly revised version of Miles Coverdale's Bible of the year before, as that in its turn was of William Tyndale's version. In 1539 *Matthew's Bible* was replaced by a version revised by Cranmer, and generally known as the *Great Bible*. See above § 2, and the companion volume on the *History of English Literature*.

hint, that the plundering of the Church was far more regal than keeping sheep. Under the advice of Cardinal Beaton, James steadily declined interviews; and, soon after Henry's fruitless journey to York to meet him in September 1541 (§ 14), a succession of Border-forays led to open war.

An English defeat at Halydon Rigg in August 1542, was followed by an invasion of Scotland, under Norfolk, who, however, had to give way before scarcity of provisions and James's 30,000 men. James's hated favourite, Sinclair, pursued Norfolk across the Border with 10,000 troops and twenty-four pieces of artillery, but was utterly and unaccountably routed by Sir Thomas Wharton at Solway Moss, November 25. Three weeks later, James died of despair; but a week before his death a daughter was born to him. "*It cam wi' a lass, and it'll gang wi' a lass,*" he groaned ruefully as his thoughts went back to the fortunate marriage with Marjory Bruce that had in 1371 first brought a Stuart to the Scots throne. He turned out to be mistaken in his forecast, as the Table on p. xiii. shows: it was a Stuart who was father to the only child of Mary, Queen of Scots.

The Anglo-Scottish Marriage-Treaty, 1543.

Proposals were immediately made to marry the infant to the English Prince Edward, and thus bring about the union of the two realms. James Hamilton, Earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, at first sided with the English party under Angus, and in July 1543 entered into a treaty which arranged that the marriage should take place when Mary was ten years old. In December, persuaded by Beaton and the Queen-mother, he induced Parliament to repudiate the treaty. In May 1544, Prince Edward's uncle, Edward Seymour, Earl of Hertford, with 10,000 troops, was conveyed to the Forth in a fleet commanded by his subsequent rival, John Dudley, Lord Lisle. He demanded the surrender of the infant Scots Queen; on Arran's refusal, he burnt Leith and Edinburgh; but he failed to take the castle, and lost many of his troops in marching south to Berwick. Hertford's forces were at once transported to France, where they took part in the capture of Boulogne by Henry.

§ 17. The conduct of Francis in the Divorce had been too half-hearted to please Henry; and Francis had sup-

ported the hostile party in Scotland. All difficulties in the way of a reconciliation with Charles V. were swept away by his cousin Mary's restoration to her claim to the English throne by the *Third Succession Act* of 1544 (cf. ch. iii., § 10; ch. iv., § 12). The present war was the result of a compact between Henry and Charles to recover their respective possessions then in the hands of Francis, and to force France to give up her renewed alliance with the Turks, preparatory to the meeting of a once more united Christendom in a General Council. The allies arranged to march on Paris, Henry from the North-East, and Charles through Champagne. Henry's siege of Boulogne was an infringement of this plan of campaign, and consequently, before Boulogne surrendered in September, his Imperial ally came to terms with Francis in the *Treaty of Crespy*, whereby Charles formally renounced all claim to the Duchy of Burgundy, and Francis once more gave up all claims on Naples, Flanders, and Artois.

The War with France, 1544—46.

Henry was thus left to himself, and—after Viscount Lisle had prevented a large French fleet from effecting anything either in the Channel or in the Isle of Wight, and Hertford had redeemed Surrey's mismanagement of a French campaign in 1545,—made peace in June 1546 with France and Scotland. Boulogne was left in English hands as security for the large money payments made or promised by France in this *Treaty of Boulogne*.

These incidents in Henry's foreign policy seem to tinge the sober earnest of his later days with the romance and adventure with which his earlier essays had been characterised (ch. iii., § 1). In point of fact, here, as at home, Henry was "facing both ways": in fighting James V. he was really attacking a champion of the Papal Supremacy, while by his alliance with Charles V. he was once more manifest before the world as the champion of the Catholic Faith.

§ 18. These wars revived the old deficiency of ready-money (ch. ii., § 7). The last four years of the reign were marked by a striking series of financial expedients. In 1543 a grant of one-tenth was obtained from the Clergy, and a heavy graduated tax on real and personal property from the

Financial Exactions and Methods, 1543—47.

Commons. The assessments for this last were in the next year made the basis of a demand for forced loans. These Parliament at once cancelled by a *Bill of Remittal* even more sweeping than that of 1529 (ch. iii., § 4) : all debts since 1542 were thereby annulled, and even all sums which had been repaid by the King were ordered to be restored. Next year a heavy benevolence was demanded, and refusal to pay was roughly punished : for instance, Alderman Reed, of the City of London, was sent down to Scotland with instructions that he should be " used in all things according to the disciplyne militar of the northern wars." In 1545 a fresh grant of one-fifteenth was extorted from the Clergy, and a tax of about one-seventh on goods, and one-twentieth on lands, imposed on the laity. The property of all colleges, chantries, and hospitals was in the same year placed at the King's disposal. To crown all, the coinage was steadily debased, so that at the end of Henry's reign the shilling was worth considerably less than sixpence.

Parliamentary Opposition crushed.

These exactions caused no such resistance as had met, not without success, those of 1523 and 1525 (ch. ii., § 7). National discontent expressed itself only in murmurs : Parliament was become the mere mouthpiece of the royal will. It made grants on such an enormous scale that by 1536, it was estimated, Henry had drawn more money from the country than all previous kings put together; and over the expenditure of these vast sums it never attempted to exercise its old right of control (Intro., § 4). It was equally complaisant in the matter of legislation : though it had once or twice kicked at Government measures (ch. iii., § 7), it practically gave the King the power of legislation in the First Act of Annates (ch. iii., § 7), and in the Acts of Succession of 1536 and 1544 (§§ 12, 16), and formally did so in the *Lex Regia* of 1539 (§ 9). Finally, Parliament attainted without trial whom the King wished, and thus concealed lack of evidence or unpresentable facts under the appearance of Parliamentary unanimity. Convocation was completely silenced, and often not so much as consulted, even in its proper sphere of framing ecclesiastical laws. Not much was wanting to complete the ideal of the New Monarchy (Intro., §§ 14, 15).

§ 19. The real constitutional battle-field of the reign was the Privy Council. There, especially after the beginning of the ecclesiastical revolution, there were always too bitterly hostile parties facing one another; and Henry VIII. showed that, if he was unlike his father in being not a saving but a spending king, he was like his father in his determination to be the king not of a faction, but of the nation. We have through this chapter traced how he threw his weight now with one, now with the other, of those parties whose leading spirits were respectively Gardiner and Cranmer, and who, though agreeing in the maintenance of the Royal Supremacy, differed widely as to the manner, extent, and objects with which it should be used. Towards the end of the reign the contest resolved itself into a family struggle between the Howards and the Seymours. Two of Henry's wives had been of the Howard family (Tree, p. 202); but the two Seymours, Edward and Thomas, were the uncles of Henry's heir, Prince Edward. Moreover, Surrey failed in France in 1545, while Hertford succeeded. And Surrey aroused the suspicions of Henry—always anxious about the succession—by aspiring to the hand of the Lady Mary, and by blazoning on his shield the royal arms (cf. ch. ii., §§ 11, 14). It was on this last pretext—which was called treason—that Norfolk and Surrey were arrested at the end of 1546. They pled guilty. Surrey was beheaded on January 19, 1547, and Norfolk was to have been executed on January 28, but was saved by the death of Henry still earlier on the same day.

The Howards and the Seymours, 1544—47.

Henry has been frequently described as a famous widower. But he was a great deal more than this. His relations with his six wives illustrate the growth of his self-will, but do not deserve the room they take up in English history as popularly known. "Gossip and scandal are still," it has been well remarked, "gossip and scandal even when they are 300 years old." It is more to the purpose to note that his self-will was not, all things considered, capricious. There is a steady purpose exhibits itself throughout the reign: to establish a strong monarchy whose government should be such as to carry the

Henry VIII.'s Death and Character.

nation with it. After the first few years of his reign, at least, his notion of being a king was not by any means that of living in glorified indolence. He is usually credited with taking a leading part not only in the work of administration, but in drafting much of the legislation which fills almost twice as many pages in the *Statutes at Large* as the whole of the statutes down to his accession.

But his greatest work was that which has, on the strength of his supposed motives, won him the extravagant eulogy or invective of the partisan—his statesmanlike guidance of the Reformation. A crisis when religion—both in its inner spirit and in its machinery—was being revolutionised was got through so well that we are still moving amidst what is in its main outlines Henry's settlement of the Church. His faults were not sufficiently numerous to destroy the popularity with which he came to the throne; yet a king who was so invariably told he could not do wrong, and who was inclined to think so even before he was so told, might well have become an unbearable tyrant. Few have called him that save in passion. Perhaps of all the diverse views which have been taken of his character that which is so completely illustrated by Bishop Stubbs, in his *Lectures on Mediaeval and Modern History*, is the most convincing:—

"Henry VIII. is neither the puppet of parties, nor the victim of circumstances, nor the shifty politician, nor the capricious tyrant, but a man of light and leading, of power, force, and foresight, a man of opportunities, stratagems, and surprises, but not the less of iron will and determined purpose—purpose not at once realised or systematised, but widening, deepening, and strengthening as the way opens before it; a man, accordingly, who might have been very great, and could under no circumstances be accounted less than great, but who would have been infinitely greater and better and more fortunate if he would have lived for his people, and not for himself."—LECT. xii., p. 306.

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CHAPTER V.

THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI.

January 28, 1547—July 6, 1553.

§ 1. The Characteristics and Divisions of the Reign: Government by the Nobles; Inroad of Foreign Influences.—§ 2. How Henry VIII.'s Dispositions for the Minority were set aside, and Somerset became Lord Protector.—§ 3. Somerset's Foreign Policy—Scotland, France, and Germany: Charles V. and German Protestantism, 1547—55.—§ 4. Ecclesiastical Legislation and Administration, 1547.—§ 5. Ecclesiastical Legislation, 1549: Edward VI.'s *First Prayer-Book*.—§ 6. How Somerset's Church-policy was received; Methods of Spoliation.—§ 7. Civil Government of the Protectorate, 1547-9.—§ 8. Causes, Results, and Treatment of the Social Question under the Protectorate.—§ 9. Discontent and Insurrection in the West and in the East, June—August 1549.—§ 10. Execution of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, and Fall of Somerset, 1549.—§ 11. Ascendency of Warwick (Northumberland), 1550—53: Foreign Policy.—§ 12. Ecclesiastical Reform under Foreign Advice: the *Second Prayer-Book*, 1552; the *Forty-two Articles* and *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum*, 1553.—§ 13. Northumberland's Attempt to Change the Succession; Edward VI.'s Death and Character, 1553.

The Character and Divisions of the Reign.

§ 1. "*Woe to thee, O land, when thy king is a child!*" was a cry of the Preacher which was on many a lip during the reign of Edward VI. He was in his tenth year when he began to reign (cf. ch. iv., § 12); and the six years during which he was on the throne were characterised by the loss of most of the advantages which his father had secured for England. It was not the poor boy's fault: precocious as he was in classical and theological learning—there is still to be seen in the Cambridge University Library a treatise from his young pen on the complex matter of the Papal Supremacy—he did not live long enough to take the first place in the government of his realm. The factions which Henry VIII.'s strong hand had

been just able to control (ch. iv., § 19) now broke loose; and the minority of the sixth Edward saw the recrudescence, in much more difficult circumstances, of that selfish and grasping rule of the nobles which had marked the minority of the sixth Henry. There was no one with the grit of Wolsey or Cromwell to fill the gap left by the late king; and consequently the government fell successively into the hands of two men of second-rate ability—the young king's uncle Hertford, and Hertford's old colleague and later rival Lord Lisle (ch. iv., § 16). The former of these, hereafter known as Duke of Somerset, was in power for rather less than three years, during which he managed to ruin the Anglophile party in Scotland, to get entangled in a miserable war with France (§ 3), and to still further complicate the existing ecclesiastical and social problems (§§ 4-8). The latter, who was in 1551 raised from the earldom of Warwick, which had been given him at the beginning of the reign, to the dukedom of Northumberland, pushed on religious innovations with feverish haste; and, by complicating his religious policy with an attempt to change the succession (§§ 12-13), came near to uprooting whatever hold the Reformation had taken on England. Neither found time to continue in Ireland that policy of firm conciliation which at Henry's decease bade fair to remove for ever the "ticklish and unsettled state" of that island (ch. x., § 10), and to make it less "easy to receive distempers and mutations." And, finally, neither was able to withstand the foreign influences which Henry VIII. had kept at bay, or to maintain the national independence which he had so carefully fostered.

The Will of Henry VIII.

§ 2. In accordance with the powers entrusted to the late king by the Acts of Succession passed in 1536 and 1544 (ch. iv., §§ 12, 17), Henry's will vested the government of the realm during the minority in a Council of "Executors," sixteen in number, who were to be assisted on emergency by twelve selected Privy Councillors. Henry's guiding notion was to prevent any abrupt change of policy after his death. By an Act of 1536 the King was authorised, on attaining his twenty-fourth year, to treat as null Acts passed during his minority. The Council's action was thus made only of a temporary validity.

And Henry had endeavoured to surround his son with a neutral body in which, while all were members of that new nobility which owed both elevation and wealth to him, neither of the two parties whose struggles had been continuous for the last ten years should be supreme (ch. iv., §§ 1, 7, 10, 19).

Somerset becomes Lord Protector, Feb. 1547.

Few Englishmen, if any, as yet desired to undo the work of the Reformation Parliament and return to the obedience of Rome: the only question was between stopping still and moving on. The Conservative party had been scotched by the fall of the Howards at the end of 1546 (ch. iv., § 19); it was hampered by the omission of Gardiner from the Council of Executors nominated by Henry—an omission so strange that the rival party has been suspected of tampering with the royal will; and it was absolutely disabled by the removal of Wriothesley from the office of Chancellor, under pretext of an illegal use of the Great Seal. Somerset, strong in his kinship to the young King and the support of the majority of the Council, procured from his nephew a patent modifying Henry VIII.'s will under pretence that it was stamped, not signed, and became Lord President of the Council and Lord Protector of England.

Somerset's Foreign Policy: 1. Scotland.

§ 3. Somerset's first failure was in Scotland, where he was not without experience of ill-success. There was a fair chance of securing the chief object of English policy for the nonce—the marriage of the young Queen, Mary, to Edward (ch. iv., § 16). Cardinal Beaton, the chief opponent of the match, had recently been assassinated in revenge for his action in burning as a heretic George Wishart, the Scots proto-martyr of Protestantism; and his murderers now lay in Beaton's castle of S. Andrews, beleaguered by the French whom the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise (Table, p. 85), had brought over. The "Castilians," as the Reforming party were for the moment called, had already surrendered before Somerset was prepared to move in their support. None the less, he marched to the Forth with a powerful army, and was on September 10 attacked at Pinkie Cleugh, six miles east of Edinburgh, by the Earl of Huntley; and, thanks mainly to his Continental mercen-

aries, was able to win a victory which was as fruitless as it was bloody. Home affairs compelled the Protector to return to England at once. The Scots were now thoroughly alienated: it was one of the Anglophile party that said they "liked the marriage well enough, but were not much pleased with the manner of wooing." The party which, not only on the old purely national grounds (cf. ch. i., § 8), but also on the new religious grounds, was hostile to England, was able to obtain its own way: the young Mary was shipped off to France, and in August 1548 betrothed to the Dauphin Francis. The marriage, which was not completed till 1558, was big with consequences for England (ch. vii., §§ 2, 7 foll.).

2. France.

No better success attended Somerset's foreign policy elsewhere. Francis I., of France, died in March 1547, within two months of the death of his old rival Henry VIII.; and the new King, Henry II., was distinctly anti-English in feeling. He supported the Catholic party in Scotland with both men and money; and his troops constantly threatened the recent English conquest of Boulogne (ch. iv., § 17). In September 1549, just before his fall, Somerset was compelled to declare war—a war as inglorious as the peace which shortly followed it (§ 11).

3. Germany.

The year of Somerset's accession to power was a critical year for Protestantism. By the *Treaty of Crespy* in 1544 (ch. iv., § 17), Charles was once more, as in 1529 (ch. iii., § 1), set free to attend to Germany. He hoped to heal the schism by means of a General Council, but when the much-talked-of Council did at length actually assemble at Trent on the Adige, in the winter of 1545, the Lutherans would have none of it. However little Henry and the Protestants had doctrinally in common, neither could afford to see Pope and Emperor victorious. Accordingly Henry, who in 1544 had been fighting cheek by jowl with Charles for Catholicism was, when he died, meditating a *League Christian* with the Lutheran princes lest both should be coerced into acceptance of a Council which called itself Catholic, but which had really become half Papal, half Imperial. Somerset, who had religious as well as political sympathy with the Protestants, was unable to stir a finger while Charles broke up the League of Schmalkalde (ch. iii.,

§ 1), and by the victory of Mühlberg on the Elbe, April 24, 1547, became at last King in very deed.

Charles V. and German Protestantism, 1547-55.

The fact that England played no part in these and the other dramatic events that were to follow is the best proof of her international impotence now that the master-hand of Henry VIII. was removed. Charles blundered, and, through lack of discretion, lost the chance of reconciling Germany with Rome, just as his cousin Mary lost England a few years later (ch. vi., §§ 2, 6), through excess of zeal. He shocked German sentiment by ill-treating the Protestant princes whom he had captured, and by introducing Spanish troops; he estranged his brother Ferdinand by trying to transfer the reversion to the Empire from him to his own son Philip (Table, p. 84); finally he outraged religious feeling on all sides by essaying a temporary religious settlement in the Imperial edict known as *the Interim*, May 15, 1547.

Like our Henry, Charles was compelled thus to pose as Pope because the real Pope, alarmed at his power, left him in the lurch. Under these circumstances the Protestants plucked up courage, and in 1552 made a fresh bid for existence under the leadership of Maurice of Saxony—a brilliant puzzle whose desertion to Charles in 1547 had been one of the main causes of the Protestant collapse—and with the aid of Henry II. of France as "Imperial Vicar" and "Defender of the Liberties of Germany." France was rewarded for this her first grand assault on German unity with the military occupation of the "three bishoprics" of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which gave her a foothold in Lorraine and set her agog for a Rhine-frontier. On the other hand, her interference turned the scale in favour of Protestantism: by the *Treaty of Passau*, 1552, Lutheran Protestants obtained toleration; and these terms were ratified and further defined by the ecclesiastical settlement which gave Germany rest for fifty years—the great *Peace of Augsburg*, 1555.

The Royal Visitation of 1547.

§ 4. Somerset, unlike Henry II. of France, was a Protestant at home as well as abroad. While Gardiner and Bonner were thrust aside for urging that the *status quo* should be maintained during the minority, Cranmer was becoming the active in-

strument of a forward policy all along the line. Henry's methods were used to further measures which would have made his hair stand on end. The year 1547 illustrated all the most distinctive features of the Henrician conception of the Supremacy. Besides the ecclesiastical legislation by Parliament (*infra*), the royal claim to be the source of spiritual jurisdiction was once more asserted by requiring all the bishops to take out new licences for the exercise of the jurisdiction which is necessary to the rounding off of episcopal authority (cf. ch. iii., § 14, p. 132), and the Crown's administrative control of the Church was exercised, as in 1535 (ch. iii., § 14, p. 133), through a royal visitation. The visitation was conducted by a commission which, during the summer, was sent round England with a view to the "purification" of the churches: "superstitious" images, pictures, and painted windows were to be removed; parts of the service were to be done in English; an English Bible and an English translation of Erasmus's *Paraphrases of the New Testament* were to be set up in every church; and copies of a new *Book of Homilies* edited by Cranmer were distributed and ordered to be periodically read "for the stay of such errors as were then by ignorant preachers spread among the people."

Ecclesiastical Legislation of 1547.

The ecclesiastical legislation of Edward's first Parliament, which met for the first of its four sessions in November 1547, was marked by the abandonment of Henry VIII.'s religious position. Its first Act forbade the reviling of the Sacrament, and ordered it to be administered in both kinds. In this order, as in the semi-Lutheran language used in speaking of the rite, Parliament was turning its back on the first two of the *Six Articles* of 1539 (ch. iv., § 11), and another Act of the same session repealed "the Bloody Statute" altogether. Parliament also swept away the fiction of election in the appointment of bishops, and enacted that they should be thereafter nominated by letters-patent in all cases; and it revived the Act of 1545 whereby the property of all hospitals, religious guilds and chantries—fraternities of Seculars whose business it was to sing daily masses for the souls of their founders—was vested in the Crown. This last Act was due to the

same old motive as before—greed—but a new pretext was now found: the doctrine of the efficacy of prayers for the dead was alleged to be erroneous and unscriptural. It was thought advisable not to touch many of the corporations which came within the purview of this Act—notably the "City-guilds" that survive till this day; but, even as it was, an income variously estimated at from £70,000 to £180,000 was placed at the disposal of the Crown. The money was formally appropriated to "the erection of schools, the augmentation of the universities, and the sustenance of the indigent." Eighteen grammar-schools were, indeed, founded during the reign; but the bulk of the forfeited property went to the "sustenance" of the gentry—just like that of the religious houses, dissolved eight years before (ch. iii., § 14; iv., §§ 7, 8).

Ecclesiastical Legislation of 1549.

§ 5. Almost more significant than the work of this first session was the work of the second session which was held in the winter of 1548-9. Here the Act that comes first on the statute-roll and in practical importance was the *First Act of Uniformity*, which, under the penalties of fines for the first and second offences, and of forfeiture and imprisonment for the third offence, enforced the universal use of the English *Book of Common Prayer*. We have already noticed the partial attempts previously made to encourage a congregational service by use of the vulgar tongue (ch. iv., § 15): this "First Prayer-Book of Edward VI.," as it is commonly styled, was entirely English in its language and almost entirely English in its sources. It was mainly the work of Cranmer, assisted probably by the Windsor Committee of six bishops and six divines that had drawn up the *Order for the Communion* issued by authority in March 1548; it was based almost exclusively on the various old service-books in use—the *Breviary* for Matins and Evensong, the *Missal* for the Communion Service,—and showed few traces of the influence of the German Reformers who in this hour of Charles V.'s triumph (§ 3, p. 169), were crowding for safety into England; and it was issued with the authority not only of King and of Parliament but also of Convocation.

This last-named body, which had been somewhat shorn of

its constitutional rights under Henry VIII., had profited by the lesson of its rough usage, and was treated somewhat more gently under Edward VI. It had in 1547 claimed to be allowed to have a voice in ecclesiastical legislation without fear of incurring the vague terrors of *Praemunire*; and it had petitioned for a relaxation of the rule of celibacy of the clergy. Accordingly in 1549 Parliament legalised the marriage of persons in holy orders. But while thus abandoning a Church-regulation of over five hundred years' standing, it kept in force the observance of fast-days —but only on the thoroughly typical ground (because non-religious and purely national) that fasting was good for trade.

Convocation, 1547-49.

§ 6. All these ecclesiastical changes during Somerset's Protectorate were made under Cranmer's guidance; and Cranmer was still in that earlier stage in which his principle was to retain whatever of existing ritual and doctrine could not be proved contrary to the Bible and to the usage or belief of the Primitive Church. Yet the main result was to upset people. To some the mere fact of change was abhorrent. To others the actual changes made seemed timid and half-hearted: Hooper, for instance, found in the Prayer-Book "much that was defective, and indeed manifestly impious."

The Anglican Standard in Creed and Ritual.

And, whatever might be thought of the changes in themselves, no right-minded person could approve the reckless, rapacious way in which they were carried out. The religious leaders who framed the measures were well-meaning enough; but the power to translate their ideas into action was derived from the Government-gang, who demanded something more tangible than the satisfaction of a good conscience as the reward of their support. "Thousands," as Latimer straightforwardly put it, "became Gospellers for the sake of the Church-lands." There were various methods of plunder. Old and now disused ecclesiastical buildings were valuable as quarries. The bells, lead-roofing, Communion-plate, and vestments were often taken away from churches by authority or by fraud. But above all the landed property of the Church passed into private hands. Bishops were forced to alienate or lease away as much as half of their lands, in order to save the rest, and did

Spoliation of the Church.

not shrink from compensating themselves by appropriating the incomes of parishes whose spiritual wants they left to illiterate, starveling clerks. Little wonder that, with such examples before them, the inferior clergy often ceded part of their tithes in return for the presentation to a living. The Reformation, here as in the matter of clerical celibacy, reversed the Hildebrandine Reform (Intro., §§ 6, 29), and increased the sale by lay-patrons, and the purchase by clergymen, of the cure of souls—*i.e.*, the abuse known technically as *simony*.*

Civil Government of the Protectorate.

§ 7. The civil government of the Protectorate is as curious a mixture as its ecclesiastical activity. The task of the Council was to carry on a despotic government with the despot left out: it was a task not easy in itself, and not rendered easier by the circumstance that the Council was—as Hallam labels it—a "designing and unscrupulous oligarchy," with a President who regarded himself as just the man to be a thorough-going, patriotic, beneficent despot. There was bound to be a collision sooner or later. At first, however, there was a series of constitutional measures and unconstitutional acts. If the former "mark," as Green says, "the first retreat of the New Monarchy from the position of pure absolutism which it had reached under Henry," the latter at least show that the retreat was a reluctant concession to expediency, not a conscious acceptance of a new principle of government. At any rate, the manner of Edward's accession savoured strongly of despotism. He came to the throne by the will of his father; and when Cranmer transposed the order of the Coronation Service, so as to make the expression of national acceptance come before the King took his solemn Coronation-oath, there disappeared almost the last vestige of the old theory of election to the Kingship.

Edwardian Modifications in the Law of Treason.

The Parliament which Somerset found sitting on his return from Scotland modified not only the ecclesiastical (§ 3), but also the civil *régime* of Henry VIII. It took away some of the power it had placed in Henry's hands by repealing the *lex regia* of 1539 (ch. iv., § 9), and by sweeping away

* The name is derived from the incident connected with the name of Simon Magus, related in *Acts of Apostles* viii. 9-24.

all treasons created since the *First Statute of Treasons*, 1352. Henry VIII.'s legislative extension of the Law of Treason had proved as burdensome to the laity as his administrative extension of the Law of *Praemunire* had proved burdensome to the Clergy. This same Parliament was ultimately dissolved, in the spring of 1552, at the end of its fourth session, for further amending the Law of Treason in the matter not of content but of procedure: no person was to be condemned of treason without being confronted by two lawful accusers (instead of on the evidence of one person, without cross-examination, as heretofore). The Treasons Act of its first session repealed most of Henry's additions to the treasonable offences and the felonies created by the *Statute of the Six Articles*, and explained the reason why; but it also added two treasons to the treasons defined in the Treasons Act of Edward III.:—

Preamble:—"As in tempest or winter one course or garment is convenient, in calm or warm weather a more liberal case or lighter garment both may and ought to be followed and used, so we have seen divers strait and sore laws, made in one Parliament, in a more calm and quiet reign of another prince repealed and taken away."

(i.) Attacks on the King's *Supremacy*, either thrice in words, or in writing, printing, or by overt act, declared treasonable.

(ii.) The assembling of twelve or more persons for altering the laws or established religion, or for doing violence to the Privy Councillors, declared treasonable.

The Social Question. 1. Cause; Enclosures, etc.

§ 8. The preamble was unfortunately hallooing before they were out of the wood. Over and above the difficulties in Church and State which Council and Parliament tried to meet in the ways which we have already traced, there came to a head at this time a social difficulty which finally shattered Somerset's government. A great economical change was going on whose nature we shall have to consider more fully in another place (ch. xi., §§ 9, 10), and that change presented the government, as such changes are wont to do, with what we call to-day the "problem of the unemployed." From various causes it had become more profitable to grow wool than to raise grain. But pasturage requires less hands and more room than tillage; and so not only were many peasants thrown out of work, but many of the smaller landholders were ejected from their holdings, and

deprived of their immemorial right to the use of the commons and waste-lands by the powerful lords of the manor. The lands thus seized—or, as the landlords would put it, "resumed"—were thrown together and enclosed as a large pasturage for sheep; and it is to this that More was alluding when he wrote that "Sheep, which are naturally mild and easily kept in order, may be said to devour men and unpeople not only villages, but towns."

2. Result: Vagabondage.

This system of "enclosures," which had been going on slowly ever since the Black Death of 1348, received a great impetus from the rapid change of land-ownership during the last ten years of Henry VIII.'s reign. The new grantees of Church-lands were animated far more by a desire to make their land pay, regardless of occupiers' rights, than the Religious had been; and thus, by the dissolution of the monasteries, the rural poor not only lost neighbours at once wealthy and charitable, but also their indulgent landlords. The burden of this, as of most economical transitions, fell mainly on the poor, who were also the least able to bear it: and, at the same time, they were suffering from the fall in wages, which was due to the falling off in the demand for labour, and from the rise in prices which was caused partly by Henry's selfish debasement of the coinage (ch. iv., § 18), partly by the increased circulation of the precious metals that followed the opening up of the mines of New Spain (Intro., § 20).

3. Antidotes: *Vagrancy Act* of 1547, etc.

The permanent result of all this was an enormous increase in the productive power of the kingdom: the immediate result was the inability of many to find work wherewith to earn their living and the consequent increase of vagrancy. It was this last that naturally enough made the deepest impression on a Parliament of landholders: hence the severe *Vagrancy Act* of 1547:—

(i.) Any person "living loiteringly for three days" was to be branded with a "V" [for Vagabond] on his breast, and given to the informer as a slave for two years; during which he was to be fed on bread and water and broken meat.

(ii.) If such an one attempted to escape he was to be branded with an "S" on cheek and forehead, in token that he was a slave for

ever ; he might be made to work by stripes and bonds ; and a second attempt at flight was punishable by a felon's death.

(iii.) Partial exemption was granted to vagabonds who had been Religious.

Parliament had to be taught by an insurrection that mere repression was not enough, and in 1551 replaced this Act by one empowering parochial relief for the unemployed (ch. xi., § 10). Somerset was statesman enough to see, without such forcible teaching, that something must be done by way of reform, and in 1548 he sent round a Commission to inquire into the grievances of the poorer classes. The spirit in which the Commission was ordered to work tells powerfully to Somerset's credit: unfortunately, it did not result in any practical benefit to the sufferers. Expectation of relief was raised only to be disappointed ; and the laxity of the Commission proved as dangerous as the severity of the Act was useless.

Discontent and Insurrection, 1549.

§ 9. Religious and agrarian discontent was a natural outcome of so much activity in matters so intimately concerned with the comfort and happiness of every-day life. It had smouldered long under Henry's firm rule: it blazed forth when Somerset's impotence displayed itself. It is not easy for a contemporary to make allowances for the good intentions of a government when they are ineffective. In the summer of 1549 the peasantry rose both in the eastern and in the south-western counties. In the West religious, in the East social, causes predominated. It is worthy of note that in neither case was there any political programme put forward by the insurgents, as there had been in the Pilgrimage of Grace (ch. iv., §§ 4, 5). But all three risings had their effect on the policy and machinery of government : if the rising of 1536 called into being the Council of the North, those of 1549 caused the partial remodelling of the militia and the institution of the Lord-Lieutenants of counties.

1. The Prayer-Book Insurrection, June—August.

The new liturgy recently prescribed (§ 5) was read for the first time on Whit-Sunday, June 1, 1549. Next day the villagers of Sampford Courtnay, on the northern part of Dartmoor, insisted on the priest resuming his old vestments and reading mass in Latin : the old service in its new garb

was unfamiliar, and with the Englishman's abhorrence of the new-fangled they said it was "like a Christmas game." Throughout Devon and Cornwall "the common people clapped their hands for joy." An appeal was soon made to arms by Humfrey Arundel, and the restoration of the *Six Articles* and of the Mass was demanded. The insurgents were pressing Exeter hard, when they were defeated by Lords Russell and Grey, first at S. Mary's Clyst (August 6), and finally at Sampford Courtnay. They then dispersed, and martial law was severely enforced against them.

Agrarian Rising in the East, August 1549.

The rebellion in the East was a much more serious affair, for, thanks to Somerset's sympathy with its motives, it was allowed to make headway. While he was issuing proclamations, the insurgents were thronging round a wealthy farmer and tanner of Wymondham, named Robert Kett, who assumed the style of "King of Norfolk and Suffolk," and sat daily in judgment on captured gentlemen beneath the "*Oak of Reformation*," on the hill that overhangs the north-east of Norwich, and is called Mousehold Hill. On August 1 Kett seized the city, and was later able to expel from it Lord Northampton, who had occupied it for the King. The Council took matters into their own hands, and ordered the Earl of Warwick to turn aside with the "Burgonian" mercenaries that he was leading towards Scotland, and crush the rebellion. Kett refused a pardon; but his forces, though they mustered some 16,000 and were well disciplined, were scattered at Dussindale (August 27), with the loss of 4000, by Warwick's trained troops. A few were hanged on the Oak of Reformation: Kett was suspended in chains at Norwich Castle.

Somerset's Unpopularity.

§ 10. Somerset's vacillation was soon followed by his fall. He had had, as his friend Paget told him, "too many irons in the fire." Everywhere, at home and abroad, in Church and in State, he had been unsuccessful. His personal popularity had died away before his increasing haughtiness, which displayed itself conspicuously in his assertion of independence of the Council by the assumption of the style "By the Grace of

God, Protector, etc."; and in pulling down churches to provide room and material for the superb palace he was building for himself on the site between Strand and Thames on which to-day stands Somerset House. Perhaps it was his consciousness of the estrangement of his fellow peers that made him constitute himself the champion of the poor.

Execution of Lord Seymour of Sudeley, March 1549.

But what shocked public feeling most, perhaps, was his treatment of his brother Thomas, Lord Seymour of Sudeley. Lord Thomas was undoubtedly jealous of Somerset, and used the strength which his official position as Lord High Admiral, and his personal connections gave him, to plot against the Protector. In June 1547, he had married the Queen-dowager—whom he had wished to marry before she was snapped up by Henry VIII. (ch. iv., § 14); he had the guardianship of the Princess Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey; and on the death of his wife he schemed to marry the princess. Having confided in Wriothesley, now Earl of Southampton, and no longer Somerset's enemy, he was denounced to the Protector, hurriedly condemned by Bill of Attainder—the Commons' petition, that at least he might be heard in his defence, fell on deaf ears—and executed, March 27, 1549.

Fall of Somerset, October 1549.

Formidable rival as his brother was, Somerset raised up a still more dangerous one by letting his old colleague Warwick (§ 1) bear away the laurels for suppressing the disorders in the eastern counties. Warwick's influence with the Council was great and growing. To meet it, Somerset attempted a *coup d'état*: he declared the body which to please him had voluntarily transformed itself from an executive to an advising body to be treasonable, and on that pretence withdrew the King, though ill, to Windsor. But only Paget, the subtle politician, and Sir Thomas Smith, the publicist and future author of the *Commonwealth of England*, clung to him; and by the advice of the former and of Cranmer he submitted, and was committed to the Tower for some months (October 1549 to February 1550). With him the Protectorate came to an end, and the Council collectively undertook the Regency.

§ 11. Warwick took not only his place, but also his policy. As Lord President, Warwick at once laid aside the religious ideas with which he was commonly credited, and, though he lacked the sincerity of his predecessor, acted as a still more thorough-paced Reformer. But he was contented with attempting less: he took the advice which Paget could never persuade Somerset to take. At the outset of Warwick's ascendancy, Paget thus described "*the evil condition of our estate at home*"—

Ascendancy of Warwick.

> "Ill money, whereby outward things be dearer, idleness among the people, the great courages, dispositions to imagine and invent novelties, devices to amend this and that, and a hundred mischiefs—these be the fruits of war."

Accordingly, negotiations with France were begun almost as soon as the war itself (September 1549), and in March 1550 peace was signed. By this treaty, in which Scotland, too, was included, England remitted the sums due to her by the treaty of 1546, and surrendered Boulogne in return for 400,000 crowns, while Edward was betrothed to a French princess, and the Scots castles were given up to the Scots.

Warwick's Foreign Policy.

Henry II. thus was left free to turn his arms against Charles V., with the far-reaching results that we have already noticed (§ 3, p. 169), and the English Council, though it could take no active part in the war, showed that its sympathy was with Henry II. by attacking Charles V.'s cousin. At the end of 1551 Mary was required to give up her Romish Mass and conform to Anglicanism as formulated in the new Prayer-Book. Though it was not certain till well on into 1552 that Charles would not be triumphant in Germany and so able to interfere on her behalf with something more formidable than threats, it was thought wise not to press the matter.

The peril into which the precipitancy of the Council thus brought the country, and the widespread peculation amongst its members, produced an unpopularity of which Somerset was not slow to take advantage. He raised his voice for Gardiner—who was in 1551 deprived of his bishopric, as Bonner had been in 1549—and drew towards the Arundels, moderate

Execution of Somerset, January 1552.

reformers. His designs were betrayed, and he was accused of treason and felony. He confessed to having plotted the overthrow of the Duke of Northumberland (as Warwick is styled from October 1551 onwards), and the former charge was withdrawn. Of the latter, however, he was found guilty; the King, persuaded by Northumberland's show of religion, would not save his uncle; and on January 22, 1552, Somerset was beheaded on Tower Hill amidst the groans of a people who forgave him his faults for his misfortunes.

Inroad of Foreign Influences in Religion.

§ 12. The Council's treatment of Mary, like its treatment of the conservative bishops, indicated a growing intolerance for anything distinctively "Romish," and a growing affection for the ideas of the South German Reformers. Many such had been driven to take refuge in England (cf. § 3, p. 169), and most of these, though not professedly "Lutheran" or "Zwinglian," were inclined to sympathise with Zwingli and Calvin on the crucial point of sacramental theory (Intro., § 23; and note, p. 153). Martin Bucer came over from Strassburg, and was made Professor of Divinity at Oxford; Peter Martyr—Florentine by birth, in theology Swiss—was given a similar post at Cambridge; John a Lasco, a Polish Sacramentary, was permitted to settle in London, and expressly exempted from the ritual and other regulations of the Anglican Church in conducting the services of his congregation of German refugees; while both Melancthon and Calvin wrote letters of advice, on request or gratuitously, to the Council. These trained theologians, with their clearly-defined dogmatic ideas on the points most agitated at the time, had a great effect on the still plastic theology of the leading Anglicans. Hugh Latimer, Nicholas Ridley, and John Hooper were amongst their earliest prominent disciples; and though Latimer would not again accept the bishopric which the *Six Articles* had made him abandon, Ridley and Hooper undertook the episcopal office, in London and Gloucester respectively.

The Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., 1552.

Archbishop Cranmer himself—always easily overborne by a show of firmness—was induced to let go some of his predilections for Christian antiquity, and to take up with these newer ideas as more in accordance with "common-sense." This

change in Cranmer's doctrinal and liturgical ideas had a marked and enduring effect on the framework of the Church of England. Whereas he had early in the reign abandoned the idea of a Protestant Council as an offset to the Romanist Council of Trent which held its first session 1545-47, mostly because he could not bring himself to accept many of the advanced Protestant tenets, and had in the *First Prayer-Book* maintained a position which, despite occasional traces of Lutheranism, was, as Gardiner himself allowed, in its essentials Catholic, Cranmer now took part in preparing a revision of the Prayer-Book which was full of echoes of the Swiss School of Theology. Edward VI.'s *Second Prayer-Book* differed totally from the *First Prayer-Book*. The Communion Service is no longer "commonly called the Mass," but is entirely remodelled after the Swiss fashion; the idea of sacrifice in the Eucharist is absolutely excluded by the use of the words "minister" for "priest," "table" for "altar," and especially by the change in the formula of administration (ch. vii., § 5); and a few months after it had been issued, the Council tried to make it quite clear that the idea of the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament was altogether discarded by ordering the insertion of what is called the "Black Rubric," to the effect that by the kneeling at reception no adoration was intended. The use of the book was enforced by a *Second Act of Uniformity*, passed in April 1552; and the same Act laid penalties for mocking at public worship, and inflicted a fine of one shilling for absence from church on Sundays or holy-days. But as the book lacked the authority of Convocation, and as the time between the date fixed for its adoption (All Saints' Day, 1552) and Edward's death in July 1553 was so short, the new ritual probably made little headway.

Inoperative Ecclesiastical Reforms, 1552–53.

Edward's premature death similarly prevented two other important ecclesiastical documents having much influence on the actual practice of the Church. These were the *Forty-Two Articles*, a summary of doctrines to be subscribed by all the clergy and schoolmasters, drawn up by Cranmer, and put forth by authority of King and Convocation in May 1553; and the

Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, a codification of the canons accepted in England, which was compiled by Peter Martyr and edited by Cranmer in accordance with numerous acts passed since the *Submission of the Clergy* in 1532 (ch. iii., § 7, p. 123, top), but which neither at this time nor in the future obtained legal or canonical sanction. In all these changes there were traces of the radical temperament of John Hooper, who in 1550 long refused to be consecrated Bishop of Gloucester in episcopal vestments, on the ground that they were "a relic of the Amorites," and "the livery of the harlot of Babylon."

Attempt to change the Succession, 1553.

§ 13. The Protestantism thus established was enforced by "persecution," as when on May 2, 1550, Joan Boucher was burned for denying the Incarnation, or as when a year later a Dutch Unitarian suffered at the stake. But persecution could not secure its continuance after the King's death. Such an event was highly probable: his health, never very strong, had broken down completely in consequence, it is said, of his removal to Windsor to bolster up Somerset's tottering power (§ 10). By the *Succession Act* of 1544 and Henry's will, his half-sister Mary inherited the throne. She was a firm, even bigoted, Catholic; and, for her, Catholicism was absolutely inextricable from the Papal Supremacy. Her first measure would be to reverse all that Edward and much that his father had done, and to throw the majority of the Council into prison. To save himself and them, Northumberland played on her still more bigoted brother's horror of "the Popish Mass" till he induced him to change the succession. Edward—who lived long enough to show clearly that he had the Tudor love of power, and dimly that he would use it with Tudor vigour, if not with Tudor wisdom—was readily persuaded that provision for the Government after his own death appertained to the Prerogative, and was in this case the imperative duty of the Supreme Head of the English Church. Yet, unlike his father, he had not been specially authorised by Parliament to regulate the succession; and, unlike his father, he was making an alteration to affect not the distant future, but the immediate present.

The King dies, July 6, 1553.

Northumberland not only secured the rejection of Mary, but the selection of the person whose elevation would be most likely to ensure the permanence of his own influence. On the pretext that her legitimacy was uncertain, Elizabeth was passed over in the *Device for the Succession* which Edward himself drew up, and the crown was settled on Lady Jane Grey and her heirs-male. This was partly in accordance with Henry's views (ch. iv., §§ 12, 17); but the only reason why Lady Jane was preferred to her mother, who was still living, was that she had lately become the bride of Northumberland's fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley. There was a strong opposition to a scheme whose main intent was obviously the aggrandisement of the Dudleys: its futility only shows the greater strength of the King's personal will under the New Monarchy. Cranmer gave in his adhesion at the special request of the King after many peers, judges, and merchants had led the way; and in June letters-patent under the Great Seal formally announced the projected change. On July 6 Edward faded away in the arms of his friend Sir Henry Sidney, exclaiming, "Oh, my Lord God, deliver this country from Papistry, and defend Thy true religion!"

Edward was called by one of his tutors "the beautifullest creature that liveth under the sun, the liveliest, the most amiable, and the gentlest thing of all the world." He learnt seven, and knew three, languages; and he was not ignorant of logic, of natural philosophy, or of music. On the other hand, if he thus possessed the Tudor brains, he possessed also Tudor heartlessness and coarseness. It is true that his dialogue with Cranmer pleading for mercy to Joan Boacher shows him in a favourable light; but there is an unpleasant savour of his father in his behaviour to his uncle Somerset, and in his expressed intention to marry "a princess well-stuffed." And he was only in his fifteenth year when he died. Perhaps it was well he died young.

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CHAPTER VI.

THE REIGN OF MARY I.

July 6, 1553—November 17, 1558.

§ 1. The "Nine-days' Queen": Failure and Execution of Northumberland, July—August 1553.—§ 2. Mary's Objects and Opening Ecclesiastical Moves, August—September 1553.—§ 3. Mary's First Parliament, October-December 1553: the proposed Spanish Marriage.—§ 4. The Marriage-Treaty and its reception: the Kentish and other Insurrections, February 1554.—§ 5. Results of Wyatt's Failure. February—July 1554: Executions; Reactionary Uses of the Supremacy: Increasing Complaisance of Mary's Second Parliament; Marriage of Philip and Mary.—§ 6. Mary's Third Parliament and Cardinal Pole: Restoration of the Papal Supremacy; Adhesion to the Church-lands.—§ 7. Incompleteness of Mary's Ecclesiastical Counter-revolution: the authors and causes of the Marian Persecution, 1555-58.—§ 8. The "Protestant Martyrs": especially Ridley, Latimer, and Cranmer.—§ 9. Mary's Misfortunes; her Quarrel with the Papacy.—§ 10. The Dudley and Stafford Conspiracies, 1556-57.—§ 11. The Anglo-Spanish War with France and Scotland, 1557-58; the Three Maries, and the Danger of a Foreign Partition of Britain.—§ 12. Loss of Calais; Death of Queen Mary.

Queen Jane? or Queen Mary?

§ 1. On July 10, 1553, four days after Edward's death, Northumberland proclaimed Queen Jane amid the sullen silence of a crowd which thought what one apprentice said: "The Lady Mary hath the better title." The interval between Edward's death and the proclamation of Jane had been used by Northumberland to secure the loyalty of the Council and the person of Jane's rival. Mary was, however, given timely notice by friends in the Council, and escaped first to Kenninghall in Norfolk, then to Framlingham, near the Suffolk coast. Here she was under the protection of the Howards, and hence she could, if need be, easily cross to her Imperial cousin.

There was no necessity to run farther. On July 13 she

was proclaimed Queen at Norwich, and 30,000 men quickly rallied round her royal standard. The national sympathy and sense of justice declared itself unmistakably for the princess who was the rightful heir, and who had been so harshly used. All who resented the muddling meddlesomeness of the Government during the late reign turned their backs on Northumberland. It was only natural to fear that he would be the real ruler, and that Lady Jane—a bright, earnest, cultivated, and amiable girl of but sixteen years—would be a puppet in his hands. None the less the idea was probably a mistake: during her nine days' reign she showed clearly her intention not to be bullied by her husband, as she had been through life by her parents. She would not, for instance, hear of his being crowned with her.

Failure and Execution of Northumberland, July-Aug. 1553.

The members of the Council who had warned Mary of her danger managed to provide Northumberland,—who was marching into the eastern counties in quest of the fugitive,—with troops likely to desert him. The fleet, too, declared for Mary. Northumberland himself was far from hopeful: "Alack!" he said as he was leaving London, "they crowd together to look at us, but not one of them says *God speed ye!*" On July 19 the majority of the Council proclaimed Queen Mary at S. Paul's Cross, in London; and at Cambridge next day Northumberland flung his cap into the air for Queen Mary. He was arrested by the Earl of Arundel and brought to London.

On August 3 Mary made her State-entry into London, and was so rapturously received that she could well afford to be merciful. She scratched out sixteen out of the twenty-five names submitted to her as ringleaders in the late opposition; and of the rest but three were executed. Jane had not, notes Hallam, "obtained that degree of possession which might have sheltered her adherents under the statute of 11 Henry VII., c. 1" (ch. i., § 14); and Northumberland's plea that he had acted under the authority of the Great Seal was therefore set aside. In hopes of saving his life, he declared himself a Catholic, and with this assertion on his lips he was executed on August 22. Whether his previous career was founded on hypocrisy or his conversion was due

to cowardice, his recantation was a great triumph for the cause that Mary had at heart, and, conjoined with his selfish policy and irreligious life, stamps Northumberland as "a most fatal friend to the Reformation."

Mary's Objects and Early Religious Measures, 1553.

§ 2. Mary's single idea was the restoration of her country to the Roman obedience, and the extirpation of all the non-Papal doctrines and tendencies of the last thirty years. Her intense devotion to the Holy See, notwithstanding the half-hearted way in which the Papacy had supported her mother, was early shown by her refusal to be crowned until sacred oil and a chair, consecrated by the Pontiff, could be obtained from Rome, as it was shown later by her scruples about adopting the style of "kingdom" for Ireland without Papal confirmation (cf. ch. x., § 10). But it was because she was Henry VIII.'s heir, not because she wished to bring back the Pope, that she was accorded so hearty a welcome. There were probably even fewer out-and-out adherents of Rome than of Zurich and Geneva in the kingdom; and probably two-thirds of her people, as of her first two parliaments, wished for nothing more than a restoration of the system in vogue during her father's last years. None the less Mary was able to get her own way. The story of her reign, like that of her brother's, falls into two parts, divided by unsuccessful revolts; and the second part is characterised by the inroad of foreign influences, antipathetic indeed to those which we have traced in Edward VI.'s reign (ch. v., § 12), but even more distasteful to the nation, and consequently provocative of a reaction which, if less violent, was still more complete (ch. vii., § 3).

"The Queen's Proceedings," Aug.-Sept. 1553.

Mary expressed her early policy of moderate counter-reformation in one of her first Proclamations (against unauthorised preaching): "though she cannot hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy, hitherto, yet is she not minded to compel any of her subjects thereunto till such time as further order, by common consent, may be taken therein." On the ground that the Acts passed during a minority (cf. ch. v., § 2) were illegal, Mary at once, on her own authority, replaced the

images and altars that had been torn down; restored the Mass; forbade unlicensed preaching; and reinstated all the five Catholic bishops who had been ejected to make room for Protestantising bishops. Thus Gardiner superseded Poynet at Winchester; Bonner, Ridley at London; and Heath, Hooper at Worcester (which Hooper held with Gloucester). She made it clear that Protestant preachers, English and foreign alike, had better become refugees unless they particularly desired to be martyrs. The Rhinelands and Switzerland gave to the majority of these a temporary shelter and some enduring theological ideas (ch. viii., § 4).

Mary's First Parliament, Oct.-Dec. 1553.

§ 3. On October 1 Mary was crowned with the full old Catholic ritual by Gardiner—now Chancellor as well as Bishop of Winchester. Four days later she met her first Parliament and Convocation, and found the latter complaisant enough, but the former far less thorough-going than herself. In its short first session this Parliament did nothing but repeat the Edwardian repeal of all new treasons created since the great *Treasons Statute* of Edward III. (ch. v., § 7). In its second session, it formally legitimated Mary, repealed nine of Edward's ecclesiastical statutes, and attainted Lady Jane and ten of her late supporters, including three of Northumberland's sons and Archbishop Cranmer.

The proposed Spanish Marriage.

Parliament thus went gladly with Mary so far as to undo the ecclesiastical changes of the last six years, but steadily refused to denationalise Church or State. It would not hear of a restoration of the Papal Supremacy, but continued to recognise Mary as Head of the Church, nor would it by penalties—which were indeed unnecessary, so welcome was its restoration—enforce attendance at Mass. Similarly on the secular side it declined to countenance the proposed marriage of Mary with Philip, the son of her nearest relation, Charles V., and the prospective inheritor of the entire Spanish dominions (Map, p. 1).

1. Its International Aspects.

This match is the central point around which the history of the reign turns. It was undertaken only after a sharp struggle between the French and the Spanish influences: it was carried through only after a strong opposition in Parliament and in arms. Not only did

its completion estrange the heart of the nation from the Queen, but also the consequent importation of Spanish Catholicism turned against Spain, for more than a century, the national feeling hitherto directed against France, and imbued Englishmen with a resentful dread of Rome that is not even yet dead. It was quite natural that Mary should lean on the Emperor, seeing that he was both her cousin and the political champion of Catholicism against the Protestantism in which England had of late become entangled. Hence his ambassador, Renard, became one of Mary's leading advisers; whilst the French ambassador, Noailles, was soon looked upon as the centre of all opposition, open and secret, to the Queen's policy. The proposed marriage was thus on its international side an incident in the rivalry between France and the Hapsburgs which dates from 1519 (ch. ii., §§ 9, 10), and which was at the moment taking the shape of an alliance between Henry II. of France and the Lutherans against Charles V. (ch. v., § 3, p. 169).

2. Constitutional Aspects.

No less important were the constitutional bearings of the marriage. It committed the English Church to alliance with Rome, the English State to alliance with Spain; and in the present weakness of England that alliance could mean nothing but dependence. If Don Carlos, the son of Philip by his first wife, were to die, any son born to Mary would naturally come into the dominions of both his parents, and the greater would draw the less—*i.e.*, England would be a Spanish satellite. The mass of Englishmen desired as little to see their State a province of Spain as their Church a province of Rome, and gladly backed Gardiner, the best type of a conservative Anglican, in his opposition to the proposal. On the other hand, a section of the Council, headed by Lord Paget, attached less weight to these prospective dangers than to the immediate rescue of England, by the strong arm of Spain, from her isolation in Europe. Moreover, it was not easy to make out a case for either of the other candidates: true they were of English birth, but Pole—as his headstrong vindication of the Papal Supremacy in his acts (ch. iv., § 6) and in his book *De Unitate Ecclesiae* had already shown—was in feeling quite an alien, and Edward

Courtnay, Earl of Devon, was a feather-headed profligate, something like that Darnley who a few years later wrecked the Scottish Mary's life (ch. vii., § 13); either match would be as much a party-match as the Spanish marriage; and neither would bring any accession of strength to England.

The Spanish Marriage-Treaty, Jan. 1554.

§ 4. Under these circumstances, Mary's strong will was able to bring negotiations to a successful issue in January 1554. It was no easy matter. There had never before been a Queen-regnant in England, and the novelty of the situation had suggested to a courtier the ingenious idea that the laws which restricted the English 'king' were not binding on a 'queen,'—an idea of which Mary showed her appreciation by flinging the treatise that developed it into the fire. As there had been no Queen-regnant, there was no precedent for defining the position of King-consort; but the framing of the marriage-treaty was left in the safe hands of Gardiner, who gave up his opposition to the marriage, as he later gave up his opposition to the Papal Supremacy, partly because it was his duty, as a minister, to obey his Queen (cf. ch. ii., § 17, p. 111), partly in order to make the best of what was an inevitable, though bad, bargain. The treaty provided—

(i) That Philip was to have no independent authority in the government of England during Mary's lifetime; and no rights of succession or regency should his wife die.

(ii) That Mary was to be sole ruler; she was not to go abroad; and she was not to take part in Philip's wars.

(iii) That the Netherlands were assigned to the issue of the marriage [cf. ch. i., § 10].

National Feeling against the Spanish Match, 1554.

Immediately after the publication of this treaty, the air was thick with plots whose negative object was to prevent the Spanish marriage, and whose positive programme was the wedding of the Princess Elizabeth, already a popular idol, to Courtnay. There were several risings with this object, but they were precipitated by the weakness or treachery of Courtnay, and only one was at all dangerous. Sir Peter Carew, who had been one of the earliest to declare for Queen Mary, rose in the West, the Courtnay stronghold (ch. iv., § 6); but partly because he was ill-prepared, partly because his cruelty in 1549 had made him unpopular in the West

(ch. v., § 9), as it later led to his death in Ulster, he made no headway, and had to flee to France. Similar ill-success attended the premature movement of the Duke of Suffolk, Lady Jane's father, in the Midlands, and of Sir James Crofts, in the Western Marches.

Kentish Rising under Sir Thomas Wyatt, Feb. 1554.

Only in Kent did the insurrection become formidable. The men of Kent were, as we have seen (ch. i., § 5), credited with a greater genius for revolting than the rest of the country. Besides, they were nearer London. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a poet and a son of a poet, and a man with practical experience of the Spanish methods of government, headed the movement "to save the country from Spanish fleas, and Spanish slavery." He led a large body of Kentishmen towards London, which seemed well disposed to fraternise with them. The fleet in the Thames supplied cannon; the 500 Londoners whom Norfolk led against them deserted with the cry, "*A Wyatt! a Wyatt! We are all Englishmen.*" The Council displayed no eagerness to put the insurgents down; and even Renard was prepared in desperation to give up the marriage, when, on February 2, Mary, with Tudor courage, threw herself on the loyalty of the citizens assembled at the Guildhall, and sceptre in hand spoke to them wingéd words:—

"Did I think this marriage to the hurt of my subjects, never would I consent thereto. And if it appear not to my Parliament to be for the benefit of the realm, I promise you, on the word of a Queen, I will never marry. But, in fact, by the very answer of these rebels to my Council, it plainly appears that the marriage is the least part of their quarrel. They demand the governance of my person and the keeping of my town. My loving subjects, right well you know me as your Queen, to whom you have promised allegiance and obedience. What a mother doth feel for her children I know not: but if subjects may be loved as children by their mothers, even so, assure yourselves, do I, your Sovereign Queen and Lady, love and favour you. I cannot but think that you do love me in return, and so bound in accord we shall, I doubt not, give these rebels a speedy overthrow. Wherefore, good subjects, pluck up your hearts and stand by your Sovereign like true men, and fear not these rebels, for, I assure you, *I* fear them not at all."

By next morning 25,000 men were enrolled in her defence. Under Admiral Lord William Howard (Table, p. 202),

these kept London Bridge against Wyatt's 10,000, and then forced him to go up stream as far as Kingston in order to cross the river. The delay ruined him. When, on February 7, he at length neared London from the west, his line was broken near what is now Hyde Park Corner, and he had but a handful of men when he reached Temple Bar, only to surrender himself to Sir Maurice Berkeley with the words, "I have kept touch!"

Retaliation, February.

§ 5. Wyatt's rising was in the main anti-Spanish, but it was regarded as anti-Papal also; and its failure increased Mary's power to proceed on the path she had chalked out for herself. Mary had now become less merciful; and about a hundred persons suffered death for their share in these risings. Renard and Gardiner successfully urged on Mary that the movement was a sufficient reason for following the precedents set in the Spanish Marriage of 1501 (ch. i., § 9), and clearing away several persons who might be able to threaten the possible Spanish Catholic succession to the English throne. Lady Jane and her husband were accordingly beheaded on February 12. Suffolk was brought to the block later. Wyatt himself was respited in the hope that he might implicate Elizabeth, but was at length executed after steadily retracting whatever he had under torture confessed. Elizabeth was arrested, but the Moderates in the Council, especially Paget, prevailed against Gardiner and the Emperor, and after three months' detention she was allowed to retire to Woodstock, and later to Hatfield. In all probability she hardly deserved her escape, but her popularity made it unsafe to touch her. Like Mary, Elizabeth found her safety not in a nation's belief in her religion, but because she was the daughter of her father.

Reactionary uses of the Royal Supremacy, March.

If Mary's consciousness of strength was shown in February by executions of opponents, it was in March shown by executive acts. In that month she issued a commission to six bishops to eject three of their fellow bishops because they held their sees only by letters patent "during good behaviour" (cf. ch. v., § 4), and "by their erroneous preaching and inordinate life" had proved themselves unworthy, and to eject four

others because, contrary to the canonical rules which the repeal of 2 & 3 Edw. VI., c. 21, had restored, they had wives. Similarly orders were sent round to all the bishops to see that the married clergy, variously estimated at from 1500 (Lingard) to 3000 (Burnet) in number, were either deprived or divorced, and that no Sacramentaries or other heretics should be admitted to holy orders. These things Mary did by virtue of that Royal Supremacy which she herself believed to be schismatic, but which her adviser Gardiner, the nationalist, still wished to preserve.

Mary's Second Parliament, April 2—May 5.

Mary's second Parliament, which met in the following month for a five weeks' session, declined to give the power requisite to enforce her religious policy. The Commons rejected no less than three Bills for the suppression of heresy which Gardiner had drawn up, and which Paget had forced through the House of Lords: by these it was proposed to revive the *Six Articles* of 1539 (ch. iv., § 11), anti-Lollard statutes, and the episcopal jurisdiction over heretics. Parliament, however, gratified the Queen by reconstituting the See of Durham, which had been suppressed under Edward VI., and by authorising the Spanish marriage—not, however, without a previous act "for securing the power of the Crown."

Mary marries Philip, July 25.

On July 25 the marriage was celebrated by Gardiner in Winchester Cathedral, and Mary was satisfied. Philip, however, did not return the demonstrative affection of a wife eleven years older than himself, and, though not personally unpopular, he was suspected of an intention, despite the treaty (§ 4), to make England a henchman to Spain. Nor did Englishmen take very kindly to the Spanish ecclesiastics whom Philip brought over with him to "scatter the darkness with which the Lutheran and Calvinistic teachers had blinded the students" at the Universities and others throughout the kingdom (ch. v., § 12). Amongst these were Bartolomeo de Carranza, who became the Queen's Confessor; Pedro de Soto, Charles V.'s Confessor, who succeeded Peter Martyr as Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford; the Dominican Villagarcia; and Alfonso de Castro, "King Philip's Preacher."

§ 6. By her marriage with Philip Mary had thus obtained her heart's desire: it only remained to attain her soul's desire of reconciliation with Rome. For this purpose she summoned her third Parliament in November. Every effort had been made to secure its subservience. Royal letters had been sent to influential persons in county and corporation alike, bidding them secure the election of "such as were of wise, grave, and Catholic sort, such as indeed meant the true honour of God, and such as the old laws require." Almost the first act of the new Parliament was to reverse the attainder of Cardinal Pole, who, now that his presence was no longer dangerous to the Emperor's designs (§ 3), was at length permitted to leave Brussels for his native land and take up the position as Papal Legate to which he had been appointed immediately on Mary's accession. On S. Andrew's Day, six days after his barge, "with the silver cross of a Legate gleaming from its bow," had swept up the Thames to London, Pole formally received the national submission tendered him by the Houses as they knelt to him at Whitehall, and, giving them absolution for their apostasy, readmitted them to communion with the Holy See.

The Third Parliament: National Reconciliation with Rome, November 30.

"*To-day we are born again*," men were heard to say; but the new birth did not bring with it fruits meet for repentance. The very statute (1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, c. 8), which repealed *en bloc* all "the statutes, articles, and provisions against the See Apostolic of Rome" made since 20 Henry VIII., expressly provided—with the explicit consent of Pope Julius III.—that the possession of all secularised Church-property should be confirmed to the lay-holders. Of the 40,000 families who had shared in the plunder, the Queen alone was averse to this concession—in fact, she restored to the Church all Church-lands still in possession of the Crown, thus losing £60,000 a year. "I value the peace of my conscience," she said, "more than ten such crowns as that of England." Not so the gentry: they would not display in their material interests the accommodating spirit which they exhibited in their religious principles. "The English in general,"

The Question of Church-lands.

noted a contemporary Venetian, "would turn Jews or Turks if their sovereign pleased"—but not at the price of the abbey-lands.

Incompleteness of Mary's Counter-Revolution.

§ 7. Mary had thus, almost single-handed, carried through an ecclesiastical counter-revolution in far less time than had been required to complete the revolution itself (ch. iii., § 15). She had used her father's methods to undo her father's work; but she had found Parliament less easy to manage than it had been in the days of Cromwell, and there was, if anything, less prospect of stability in her work. It was, so far, only a legislative revolution which might easily be overthrown by any government which attacked it before it had time to take root in the mind of a people now habituated to sudden mutations. The attitude of Parliament with regard to the Church-lands showed how much less earnest her people were than herself. Its refusal to restore to the parish-churches the impropriated tithes which had gone, with other monastic revenues, to laymen; to wipe out or to define the offence of *Praemunire* which stood in the way of complete submission to Rome (note, p. 112); to remove the restrictions on Philip's exercise of power during her life, or after her death, as Regent; and to exclude Elizabeth from coming to the throne—all these things bore witness to the fact that the English were still at heart a stiff-necked and rebellious people. The precariousness of England's submission to Rome was felt at the time: "the succession must fall to Elizabeth," wrote Renard in June 1555, "and with Elizabeth there will be another religious revolution."

The Marian Persecution, 1555-58.

Besides the undoing of the ecclesiastical laws of a quarter-century, Mary set herself the task of undoing the effects of the religious criticism and iconoclasm of the same period. She now had the requisite powers, for the Reconciliation Parliament revived the laws of the fourth and fifth Henries against Lollardy, and thereby made heresy once more an offence at common law, against which sheriffs, justices, and bishops alike were empowered, indeed obliged, to initiate proceedings. Early in 1555 the persecution which has won for Mary the nick-

name "Bloody" was set on foot. The burden of responsibility for this persecution has been shifted on to different shoulders by various writers: Mary, Pole, "Wily" Winchester (Gardiner), and "Bloody" Bonner, have been made to bear individually the blame which ought, perhaps, to be distributed about equally between them. The utmost that can be said to be generally accepted is this: that, unless Mary had been willing, the persecution would not have gone so far; and that the bitter cup which she had been forced to drink throughout her girlhood naturally enough disposed her to be not merely willing, but wishful, for vengeance. Not that Mary was actuated solely, or mainly, by vengefulness. She really believed what all kings of her time professed—that it was her duty to use all her power as Queen for the spiritual well-being of her subjects. She cordially agreed with the opinion of Heath, whom she raised about this time to the See of York: "whatever is contrary to the Catholic faith is heresy, and whatever is contrary to unity is schism." And, to her, belief in the Papacy was as inseparable from the Catholic Faith as it was necessary to the preservation of the unity. Still, it may well be doubted whether she would have gone to such lengths but for the constant influence of the Spanish resident clergy, who had been brought up in that Crusading atmosphere in which toleration cannot live (Intro., § 13).

The "Protestant Martyrs."

§ 8. Child's play as the Marian Persecution was, compared with the work of the Spanish Inquisition (whose method of confusing sedition and heresy it imitated), it was still terribly severe. The estimates of the number of "martyrs" fluctuate between 200 and 300. Further, it was indiscriminate: men and women, adults and children, learned and ignorant were alike being burned, while notorious heretics who stood high in rank were left scot-free.* Finally, it was the outcome of a purely governmental policy, not of a national outburst of feeling against heretics. Consequently, it excited general disgust in a people which saw the suffering inflicted, and was not able to "sit with its feet on the fender" and

* Heylin groups thus: 5 bishops, 21 clergy; 8 gentlemen; 84 artificers; 100 husbandmen and servants; 26 wives; 20 widows; 9 virgins; 2 boys; 2 infants [277].

compare it favourably with other butcheries that shock us to-day.*

Burning of Bishops Ridley and Latimer, October 16, 1555.

The greatest activity was displayed, as might be expected, in the South and East (cf. ch. iv., § 2), especially in the dioceses of Canterbury, London, and Rochester, under Bonner's direction. Amongst the earliest victims were John Rogers, Prebendary of S. Paul's, and Hooper, sometime Bishop of Gloucester—the former at Smithfield, the latter in his own city. The evident unpopularity of the persecution drew an official disclaimer of all part or lot in it from Philip's chaplain, Alfonso de Castro. After a lull, however, it was resumed, and even intensified by "rattling letters" from the Queen, who put down her disappointment of an heir to the wrath of God for her lack of zeal. On October 16, 1555, ex-Bishops Ridley and Latimer were burnt at Oxford within a stone's throw of the place where, three centuries later, the effigies of themselves and of their chief, facing three several ways, have been placed on their "Martyrs' Memorial." Latimer's last words went characteristically to the root of the matter: "Be of good cheer, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day light such a candle by God's grace in England as I trust shall never be put out."

Burning of Archbishop Cranmer, March 21, 1556.

Cranmer's death-scene was, like theirs, at Oxford; like his own life, curiously indeterminate. It has been held by some to justify, by some finally to disprove, his claim to be regarded as a martyr. After he had been formally condemned at Rome—where alone, according to Papal theory, a Metropolitan of the Church could be judged—he was persuaded by the Spanish priests to sign no less than six papers in the hope of saving his life. Of these the first four were submissions, quite in his manner, to the *de facto* authority: the last two were recantations of his real opinions. And so Macaulay brusquely says, "Cranmer died

* "I believe that I could show that all the executions for religious causes in England—by all sides and during all time—are not so many as were the sentences of death passed in one year in the reign of George III. for one single sort of crime—the forging of bank-notes."—Bishop Stubbs, *Lectures*, xiv., p. 377.

solely because he could not help it." Yet it required no little moral courage to make the confession he made to the crowded audience in S. Mary's, Oxford, on his way to the stake:—

"Now I come to the great thing that so much troubleth my conscience, more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here I now renounce and refuse as things written by my hand contrary to the truth which I have thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be; and that is all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation [from the priesthood], wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand therefore shall be the first punished; for if I come to the fire it shall be first burnt. . . . As for the Pope, I utterly refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrines."

Cries of "*Away with him!*" and "*Stop his mouth!*" here interrupted him, and he was led off to the stake to exhibit, in holding in the flames "that unworthy hand," a constancy which he had never displayed in his life. His death, like that of the kindred spirit Charles I., ruined the cause of his opponents. It was a peasant woman of the time who anticipated the verdict of history by saying, "The burning of the Archbishop hath burned the Pope out of the land for ever and ever."

Mary's Misfortunes, 1555-56.

§ 9. In the midst of her religious zeal, Mary was intensely unhappy. She passionately wished for an heir to continue her work when she was gone (§ 7): every preparation was made for the event, but the child never came. Philip, on whom she doted, deserted her soon after her disappointment, in August 1555. He was weary of trying to make himself agreeable to a nation that would not try to make itself useful to him in return; and his father wanted him in the Netherlands. There, early in 1556, Charles formally resigned the crown of Spain to him, as he had already resigned Sicily and Naples in 1554, and the Netherlands on October 25, 1555, and retired to the convent of S. Yuste, in Spain, a disappointed man, grumbling that "Fortune was a woman who did not favour the old."

Almost a heavier blow still to Mary than her husband's coldness was the distrust of her shown by the Papacy itself.

In 1555 the vehement Cardinal Caraffa had become Pope as Paul IV., and he was on many personal and political grounds hostile to Mary: as an adherent of the old Angevin party in Naples (ch. i., § 9), he hated Philip; as one opposed to all doctrinal compromise with Protestantism, he hated Mary's confidential adviser, Pole; while as the self-denying destroyer of Church abuses, he totally disapproved of his predecessor Julius III.'s concessions with regard to the Church-lands. It was in vain that she strove to rebuild the abbeys and restore the first-fruits and tenths (ch. iii., § 12; note, p. 130) to the Church —Parliament would not let them be restored to the Pope. Paul was inexorable: England must show the sincerity of her repentance by restitution.

Queen Mary and the Papacy, 1556-58.

Mary obtained, however, the archbishopric of Canterbury for Pole, who by the death of Gardiner, at the end of 1555, was left without a rival in the Queen's confidence, and "without whom," Noailles wrote, "the Queen neither will nor can do anything." But when, in July 1557, the Pope sent Mary's old confessor Cardinal Peto as *legatus a latere* (ch. ii., § 6), Mary could prevent her friend's authority being overshadowed only by the exercise of the very Supremacy which she had discarded. The reason why Pole was thus superseded was his alleged connivance at heresy: he had persistently urged a compromise, including the acceptance of their doctrine of Justification by Faith only, with the Lutherans. To ward off the charge, he had, in the preceding February, issued a fresh commission to the bishops, exhorting them to greater efforts in the suppression of heresy. The episcopal body thus erected has been suspected to be the beginning—it certainly was a precedent—for the inquisitorial Court of Ecclesiastical Commission which was permanently established in 1583, and abolished in 1641.

§ 10. If Mary was dissatisfied, so, too, were her people. Her early popularity was gone, and plots and rumours of plots were rife. They were not very serious, but they were numerous; and the very readiness with which they were undertaken proves the prevalence of a belief that the slightest success would induce the people to turn against the Queen. The

The Dudley and Stafford Conspiracies, 1556-57.

most notable were the Dudley and the Stafford conspiracies. Sir Harry Dudley, a cousin to the late Duke of Northumberland, won the adherence of many young worshippers of Elizabeth, and proposed, by means of French ships and money, to make a descent on the Isle of Wight. Inklings of the plot reached England from Paris, where it was organised, and led to the arrest of several of the conspirators. Dudley escaped, but many suffered death.

This was in April 1556. A year later Sir Thomas Stafford, a grandson to the Duke of Buckingham, executed in 1521 (ch. ii., § 10), made a futile descent, with some thirty followers, near Scarborough, which was easily suppressed, and all its participants but one were executed. Stafford's professed object was "to deliver his country from the tyranny and devilish devices of Mary, unrightful and unworthy Queen." These plots, however unsuccessful, had considerable political importance. Both relied on French help (cf. § 3); and Henry of France was proved to have abetted Stafford's attempt. This complicity was used as a pretext for the declaration of war against France, which Philip had in March come over to urge on the Queen (June 1557).

§ 11. The war was the crowning disaster of the reign. The real struggle was in Italy, where during 1557 the Duke of Guise was worsted and Paul IV. had to submit to Alva, Philip's lieutenant. There was, however, an important battle fought August 10, 1557, near S. Quentin, at the source of the Somme, in which the Constable Montmorency's attempt to relieve that city was utterly defeated; but English troops only arrived in time to share the spoils, not the honours, of the victory. The campaign did England no good.

War with France, June 1557.

The Scots, though nominally in alliance with the French, were unable to effect much, as they were in the first throes of a vigorous Reformation. In 1557 the movement was being attacked by the Regent Mary of Lorraine (Table, p. 85), and its future was threatened by the promised marriage of the Scottish Queen Mary to a French prince (ch. iv., 16; ch. v., § 3)—which actually took place in April 1558. Protestantism and national independence seemed, in Britain as of late in Germany (p. 169), to be

The three Maries.

bound up together: in the North both were assailed by these two Maries, backed by France; in the South, by our Mary, backed by Spain. It was this peril that caused John Knox to put forth in 1558 his famous pamphlet *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstruous Regimen of* [*i.e.* government by] *Women.* The danger passed away from England before the year of publication was out (§ 12): how it passed away from Scotland we shall see later (ch. vii., §§ 7-9). For the present the domestic strife kept a French Scotland from being troublesome to a Spanish England.

§ 12. In the winter of 1557-8, Calais, which, with Guisnes hard by, was England's last foothold on the Continent, was suddenly beset by Guise. Its fortifications had long been neglected through the penury or wastefulness of the Crown; it was for economy's sake always under-manned in winter; and Philip's note of warning and offer of a Spanish garrison were alike disregarded. The garrison of Calais and its outworks, under Lords Wentworth and Grey, mustered only some 1500 men, against the 20,000 men who, in January 1558, closed round it by land and sea, and forced its capitulation before the month was out. The Queen's ships, which were too unseaworthy to rescue Calais, were refitted in time to take part, under Clinton, in Count Egmont's victory off Gravelines, in July. But that was felt to be a poor compensation for the loss of what was, in Professor Froude's words, accounted "the brightest jewel in the English Crown—a jewel useless and costly, but dearly prized."

Loss of Calais, January 1558.

To Mary the loss of Calais was a final blow: unloved by her husband, unloved by the Papacy to which she had sacrificed the love of her people, she easily succumbed to the dropsy, and was closely followed to the grave by her best friend, Pole. "She was," says Carlyle, "a well-abused woman, but not a bad woman—rather, I should say, a good woman according to her lights." Few sovereigns have deserved more and received less commiseration. After a forlorn youth, she found the love she lavished on her husband and her Church unreturned. She set herself the sad task of promoting a lost cause by

Death of Mary, Nov. 17, 1558.

obsolete methods; and the morbid puzzling over the problem why God should reward her devoted service to His cause with failure upon failure ultimately made her, as Henry II. of France described her, "*possédée et maniée.*" She was the least amiable and least intelligent, but also the most honest, of the Tudors. What she did for England was precisely what she tried to prevent (§ 3). "Within a twelvemonth," wrote a lady to Bonner, "you have lost the hearts of twenty thousands that were rank Papists."

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The Howards and their Connexions

IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

John Howard(1), **1st Duke of Norfolk** (of this house), from 1483 to 1485.

Thomas, Earl of Surrey(2), **2nd Duke of Norfolk**, from 1514 to 1524.

Thomas, 3rd Duke, Leader of the Conservative Party; d. 1554.

Sir Edward, Lord Admiral; d. 1513.

William, Lord Admiral; Lord Howard of Effingham (1554); d. 1573.

Edmund

KATHARINE, 5th wife to HENRY VIII., July 1540; *exec.* Nov. 1542.

Elizabeth = *Sir Thomas Boleyn;* Viscount Rochford (1525); E. of Wiltshire & Ormonde(3) (1529); d. 1539.

Mary = *Henry Fitzroy, D. of Richmond,* nat. son to Henry VIII.; d. 1536.

Henry, E. of Surrey; Poet; *exec.* 1547.

Countess of Sheffield, Leicester's 2nd wife, 1573.

Charles, 2nd Lord Howard of Effingham; Ld. Admi. at time of Armada; E. of **Nottingham** (1596); d. 1624.

George, Baron Rochford (1529); *exec.* 1536.

Mary William Carey

ANNE, 2nd wife to HENRY VIII., Jan. 1533; *exec.* May 1536.

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Thomas, 4th Duke; *exec.* 1572; title forfeited [restored 1660].

Henry, E. of **Northampton.**

Henry Carey, 1st Lord Hunsdon; d. 1596.

Katharine = *Sir Francis Knollys.*

ELIZABETH, b. Sept. 1533; s. Nov. 1558; d. March 1603.

2nd Lord Hunston.

Robert Carey, E. of Monmouth (1626).

Katharine(4) = Charles, 1st Earl of Nottingham; d. 1603.

Lady Scrope.

1. *Walter Devereux,* = Lettice = 2. *Robert Dudley,* 5th son of the Lord 1561; V. Hereford; E. of Essex (1572); d. 1576. d. 1634. President Northumberland, 1578; E. of Leicester (1564); d. 1588. His sister **Mary** married Sir **Henry Sidney**, and was the mother of *Sir Philip.*

Philip, who in 1580, by right of his mother, heiress of the Fitzalans, became 13th E. of **Arundel.**

Thomas, Lord Howard of Walden (1597); E. of **Suffolk** (1603); d. 1626.

William, Lord of Naworth and Warden of the Western Marches; "Belted Will."

Penelope, Lady Rich; the "Stella" of Sidney's sonnets.

Robert Devereux, = Frances Sidney, widow E. of Essex; Elizabeth's favourite; *exec.* 1601. of *Sir Philip Sidney,* and daughter of *Sir Francis Walsingham.*

Robert Devereux, E. of Essex; the Parliamentary General, with whose death in 1646 the earldom of Essex became extinct.

DIRECTIONS.—The Dukes of Norfolk, and the principal titles held by the Howards, are printed in **dark type**, the main line of descent (**Norfolk**) being shown by thick lines; royalties in CAPITALS; and the more important names in *italics.*

NOTES.—(1) His mother was the daughter of the Duke of Norfolk banished by Richard II. in 1398, and heiress of the House of **Mowbray.** (2) The victor of Flodden Field, 1513. (3) His mother Margaret was one of the co-heirs to Thomas Butler, 7th Earl of Ormonde [Baron Ormonde of Rochford in the English Peerage], who died 1515. Just before the death of Boleyn, the Irish title was given to Sir Piers Butler (8th Earl), who had in 1528 surrendered his claims, and received in compensation the title Earl of *Ossory.* (4) Who is said to have kept back Essex's ring from Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VII.

QUEEN ELIZABETH AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

From the Accession of Elizabeth to the Rising of the Northern Earls, 1558-69.

§ 1. Accession, Character, and Policy of Elizabeth.—§ 2. Elizabeth's early relations with France and Spain: *Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis*, April 1559.—§ 3. Elizabeth's early religious measures and difficulties.—§ 4. Elizabeth's First Parliament, 1559: *the Act of Supremacy* and *the Act of Uniformity*.—§ 5. The Elizabethan Settlement of Church-government and Church-ritual.—§ 6. The Anglican *Via Media* and its Reception: Archbishop Parker, 1559-60.—§ 7. British Affairs, 1557-9: the Beginnings of the Scottish Reformation.—§ 8. Elizabeth and the Scottish Lords of the Congregation, 1560: the *Treaties* of *Berwick* (January) and *Edinburgh* (July).—§ 9. The Homing of Mary Queen of Scots, 1561; some Differences in Character and Objects between Mary and Elizabeth.—§ 10. The Occupation of Havre, April 1562–July 1563; Beginnings of anti-Romanist Legislation in Elizabeth's Second Parliament, 1563.—§ 11. The English Succession: (*a*) Possible Successors to Elizabeth, and her attitude towards them.—§ 12. (*b*) Possible Husbands for Elizabeth, and the attitude of herself and of Parliament towards them, 1556-66.—§ 13. The Darnley Marriage; the Rizzio Murder; and the Birth of a Scottish Prince, 1565-6.—§ 14. The Darnley Murder and the Bothwell Marriage, 1566-7.—§ 15. The Battles of Carberry Hill and Langside, 1567-8.—§ 16. International Relations, and possible policies, 1566-8.—§ 17. What can be done with Mary, 1568?—§ 18. The Norfolk Marriage-Project; the Rising of the Northern Earls, 1569: Assassination of Regent Moray, January 1570.

The Accession of Elizabeth, November 17, 1558.

§ 1. "It is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes!" was Elizabeth's pious ejaculation, when she was informed at Hatfield that by the death of her sister she had become Queen of England. She had a hard task before her. The death of Queen Mary was the nadir of English prosperity in Tudor

times. England lay in as deep a slough as at the accession of Henry VII. some seventy years before (ch. i., §§ 1, 2); and the task of Elizabeth was simply that which her father and her grandfather had successfully performed—to set her country's feet upon the rock and order her goings. Undoubtedly her outlook was even less promising than that of Henry VII. after Bosworth. Not only was her title disputed, but she was moreover a woman; not only had she to face internal discontents, but also perils from over-sea. Her plight was thus plainly put before her in her Council:—

"The Queen poor; the realm exhausted; the nobility poor and decayed; good captains and soldiers wanting; the people out of order; justice not executed; all things dear; division among ourselves; war with France; the French king bestriding the realm, one foot in Calais, and the other in Scotland; steadfast enemies, but no steadfast friends."

Character and Policy of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth soon showed her capacity for rule by finding a way out of all her present difficulties—a way which was also to lead her out of future difficulties. It was emphatically a middle way: Elizabeth's watchword was "compromise." Such a policy matched her character eminently well. In eluding the dangers which surrounded her during her sister's reign she had mastered the art of shuffling. "Her entire nature," notes Professor Froude, "was saturated with artifice: except when speaking some round untruth, Elizabeth could never be simple." But if she lied—the practice is not unknown in diplomacy—she lied well and in a good cause. She lived and lied for her country. There is no false ring in the words with which she met her first Parliament: "Nothing—no worldly thing under the sun—is so dear to me as the love and goodwill of my subjects."

This love and goodwill she earned by her excellences as Queen, and did not lose through her deficiencies as a woman. She had a woman's vanity and her mother's coquettishness, but not an atom of womanly reserve: she was accordingly denounced as a wanton in her own day. The scandalous tales about her are most likely untrue: not because she was moral—she was rather non-moral—but because she was cold and passionless. But her enemies' talk about her was utterly disbelieved by the mass of her

people, who saw in her, above all, a brave, thrifty, shrewd, and industrious Queen. She was all this and more. At home "her finger was always on the national pulse," and she prescribed accordingly. Abroad, she trod the mazes of diplomacy with marvellous skill. Her policy was not, perhaps, a policy of genius, but rather of good sense: "by by-ways and crooked ways" she sought, and sought successfully, the welfare and greatness of England.

§ 2. At first, however, it was not a question of greatness, but of existence itself. When Elizabeth came to the throne, it seemed much more likely, on the whole, that England would be absorbed by either France or Spain than remain independent. On the one hand stood Philip II., whom Mary would have made her heir had not Parliament successfully resisted what even the mild-spoken Hallam calls "the accursed design of a besotted woman" (ch. vi., § 7. Philip had steadily befriended Elizabeth, ever since he had found her succession to his wife all but inevitable: early in 1559 he offered to marry her. Perhaps Elizabeth was personally not indisposed to take a step which would have linked England with the chief Power of Europe. But two things put the marriage quite out of the question. One was the political fact that, to judge by the experience of the last four years, a Spanish marriage would have made her unpopular at home without giving her any strength of her own abroad. The other was the personal fact that her marriage with her deceased sister's husband would require a Papal dispensation; and Elizabeth could not countenance an application which acknowledged in the Pope the very authority which her father had repudiated in order to marry her mother (ch. ii., §§ 14, 15; ch. iii., § 9). So Elizabeth declined the proffered honour, and was consequently thought by the Spanish ambassador to be "possessed of a hundred thousand devils."

Elizabeth's Relations with Spain, 1558-9.

The truth was, Elizabeth saw that the very fact which made Philip's support necessary to her, made it necessary that Philip should support her, however she behaved. Elizabeth had a rival to the crown in the person of Mary Queen of Scots (ch. iv., § 16). If Elizabeth were illegitimate, as many

Elizabeth's Relations with France and Scotland, 1558-9.

thought her to be; if Parliament could not *legally*—as in Henry VIII.'s *Third Succession Act* of 1544 (ch. iv., § 17)—make good the defect of birth; and if, finally, the English crown went entirely by hereditary descent—then Mary, as great-granddaughter of Henry VII. (Table, p. xiii.), was the rightful queen. She was already Queen in Scotland, and by her marriage in April 1558 with the Dauphin Francis she became the prospective Queen of France (ch. v., § 3; ch. vi., § 11). Hence there seemed some chance of uniting the three realms of England, Scotland, and France into one dominion, which by its position could control the communication of Spain with the Netherlands, and by its varied resources would be admirably fitted to be the arbiter of Europe. Elizabeth and Philip, thus threatened by a common danger in this Valois-Stuart marriage, held together; and Henry of France in vain tried to induce Philip to leave England in the lurch.

Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis, April 12, 1559.

Finally, in April 1559, Elizabeth secured peace for England and the recognition of herself as Queen, at the price of Calais (ch. vi., § 12); and the sting of this cession was almost taken away by the promise that it should be restored after eight years under a forfeit of 500,000 crowns. The treaty by which Elizabeth obtained these favourable terms was part of the general pacification between the three Western Powers, which is known as *the Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis*, and which marks the close of yet another phase of the warfare that had begun with Charles VIII.'s invasion of Italy (Intro., §§ 8, 12; ch. i., § 9), had been restarted with the election of Charles V. as Emperor (ch. ii., §§ 9, 10), and had taken a new turn after the *Peace of Cambray* (ch. iii., § 1; ch. v., § 3). Under the shadow of this fighting, Protestantism had spread by leaps and bounds, and in 1559 it had attained almost the widest limits indicated by the map on p. 45. But the Papacy had now again become a respectable institution (Intro., §§ 21, 23), and set itself to recover its lost ground; and the Powers that had not revolted tried to support the Papacy more earnestly than before. Henry II. and Philip II. are said to have definitely pledged themselves at Câteau-Cambrésis to put down heresy in their

dominions, and not allow it to spread outside. Whether this be so or not, the second half of the sixteenth century is full of religious wars (Intro., § 27); and as Germany was left fairly quiet under its religious settlement of 1555 (ch. v., § 3, p. 169), it was on England that the brunt of the struggle fell.*

Elizabeth's, Religious Attitude, 1558-9.

§ 3. The great paradox of the age of Elizabeth is that, though religion is the pivot on which everything turns, it is politics that does the turning. Political disunion overcame religious union among her foreign enemies: among her own subjects political union overcame religious disunion (Intro., § 27 *fin.*). Of the former principle we have already had glimpses (§ 2; ch. iii., § 1; ch. iv., § 1), and shall have many more: the latter will especially occupy us in the next chapter (ch. viii., §§ 1-8). It was in her ecclesiastical policy, more than anywhere else, that Elizabeth's scorn for "the falsehood of extremes" first came into prominence. Her early changes in Church matters were, as it has been happily put, "parallel but opposite in direction" to those of her sister (ch. vi., § 2): she waited for Parliament to assemble before doing anything decisive, but what she did do pointed to the reversal of her sister's work. She stopped all burnings for heresy, and ordered the release of all who were in prison awaiting trial on that count. She allowed part of the Liturgy to be read in English, and forbade the elevation of the Host. On the other hand, she would have none of the unlicensed preaching so much in vogue amongst the Protestants who poured back from the Continent on her accession. And she retained the greater part of Mary's Council—which was purely Catholic—though she gave her chief confidence to two additions of her own, Sir William Cecil and Francis Walsingham, who were in the main Protestants. To Cecil she spoke high words of praise: "This judgment I have of you—that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, and that you will be faithful to the State, and that, without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel which you think best."

* A clear and compact account of the complicated international history of this period will be found in Bishop Creighton's *Age of Elizabeth* (Longmans' "Epochs Series").

Elizabeth's Religious Opponents.

On January 15 she was crowned with the full Catholic ritual; but the fact that only one bishop, Oglethorpe of Carlisle, would take part in the ceremony showed how greatly the leading clergy mistrusted Elizabeth's intentions. By neglecting to notify her accession to the Pope, she had seemed to foreshadow the renewal of the breach with Rome; and the events of the last thirty years had implanted in the minds of a conservative clergy the notion that apart from Rome there could be no stability—*i.e.*, to the idea that it was impossible to be Christian without being Catholic, they had added the idea that it was impossible to be Catholic without being Roman. This feeling became so general that for nearly three centuries the word "Catholic" was used in England in the sense of "Roman Catholic." It was in the existence of this religious party, which based its Catholicism not so much on its acceptance of the body of doctrine *quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus* [had been believed] as on its acceptance of the authority of the Pope as universal bishop, that Elizabeth found her first and chiefest obstacle in carrying out her ecclesiastical ideal: "*I will do as my father did*" (ch. iii., § 15). Later on she found that ideal attacked from the other side as half-hearted (cf. ch. iv., § 2), by men who had become imbued with the teaching of a man born in the year of her father's accession—John Calvin (Intro., § 23; viii., §§ 1-8).

Elizabeth's First Parliament, January 25—May 8, 1559.

§ 4. Elizabeth's first Parliament met early in 1559, on the anniversary of her mother's wedding, and formally removed from Elizabeth the stigma of illegitimacy that had been fixed upon her by the Parliament of 1536, and not formally removed by the Parliament of 1544. As regards the Church, the laity as represented in Parliament showed little of that hankering after the continuance of the Marian ecclesiastical system which the clergy in their Convocations showed: what resistance there was—enough to make the passage of the *Act of Supremacy* through Parliament take two months—arose for the most part in the Lords. The first two Acts of this Parliament levelled in a moment the structure which it had cost Mary such pains to build up. These Acts were:—

I. The [Second] Act of Supremacy [cf. ch. iii., § 12].

(i.) Repeal of 1 & 2 Phil. & Mary, c. 8 [ch. vi., § 6], and consequent revival of all Henry VIII.'s Anti-Papal legislature, except the *Statute of the Supreme Head*.

(ii.) Repudiation of all foreign authority, spiritual or ecclesiastical.

(iii.) Power of "visitation of the ecclesiastical state and persons, and reformation of all manner of errors, heresies, schisms, abuses, contempts and enormities, for ever united and annexed to the Imperial Crown of the Realm."

(iv.) Every "ecclesiastical officer and minister, every temporal judge, justice, mayor, or other lay officer or minister" to take the following corporal *Oath of Supremacy and Allegiance* :—

"I, A. B., do utterly testify and declare that the Queen's Highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual and ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal ; and that no foreign prince, person, prelate, state or potentate, hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm, etc."

(v.) *Penalties* for maintaining the spiritual or temporal jurisdiction of any foreign prince or prelate : first offence, forfeiture of all property, real and personal ; second offence, penalties of *praemunire* ; third offence, death as traitor.

(vi.) Power to Crown to appoint Commissioners under the Great Seal for the exercise of its spiritual authority and jurisdiction : such Commissioners not to consider anything to be heresy unless

(*a*) already adjudged to be heresy by the Canonical Scriptures or the first four General Councils ;

(*b*) hereafter so adjudged by the High Court of Parliament of this Realm with the assent of the Clergy in their Convocation.

II. The [Third] Act of Uniformity [cf. ch. v., §§ 5, 12].

(i.) *As regards the Clergy.* Edward VI.'s *Second Prayer-Book* of 1552 [as revised by a committee of divines presided over by Sir Thomas Smith] to be used in all churches under the following penalties : for the *first* offence, forfeiture of the profits of a benefice for one year and six months' imprisonment ; for the *second* offence, a like forfeiture and twelve months' imprisonment ; for the *third* offence, imprisonment for life.

(ii.) *As regards the Laity.* Absence from church "without lawful or reasonable excuse," on Sundays and holy days, to be visited with spiritual censures and a shilling fine (for the maintenance of the poor).

§ 5. By these two measures, together with the Act re-annexing to the Crown once more the first-fruits which Mary had by leave of Parliament restored to the Church (ch. vi., § 9, and reff.), Elizabeth obtained all that she wanted in the way of an ecclesiastical settlement. She had provided for

The Government, Worship, and Doctrine of the Anglican Church.

the orderly government of the Church on her father's lines, and for a decent uniform service on the lines laid down in the reign of her brother—both in a way calculated to give as little offence as possible to anyone. It would have been the natural thing to follow up all this by prescribing what the Church thus ordered was to teach. But a hard-and-fast definition of doctrine would be bound by its very necessary precision to estrange many: hence for several years Elizabeth left the creed of the Church in the fluid state natural to a manual of devotion like the Prayer-Book. It was not till 1563 that the *Forty-two Articles* of 1552 (ch. v., § 12), as revised by Archbishop Parker and others, were sanctioned by Convocation; not till 1571 that these articles took the final form of the *Thirty-nine Articles* which are still printed as a kind of Appendix to the *Book of Common Prayer*, and were required by Parliament to be subscribed by every clergyman before he could be admitted to any office in the Church (ch. viii., § 4).

The *Via Media* of the Anglican Church.

Elizabeth fondly hoped, both by what she had done and by what she had left undone, to satisfy every-body—as in fact she might have done but for the abiding effects of those rival foreign influences whose working we have traced in the last two chapters. Everywhere she had tried to remove features which were known to be objectionable to any party. True she would have nothing to do with Rome—although a week before her accession she had prayed that "the earth might open and swallow her up if she were not a true Roman Catholic"; and when in May 1561, the new Pope, Pius IV. offered, if England would return to the Roman obedience, to authorise the English Prayer-Book and communion in both kinds, and courteously invited Elizabeth to send representatives to the third and final session of the Council of Trent, she refused point-blank. But by dropping the title "Supreme Head" she seemingly meant to abandon the attitude of contentious competition with the Papacy which her father had assumed, and to acknowledge, as *Article XXXVII.* afterwards put it, that "the ministering of God's Word and of the Sacraments" does not appertain to the Crown. So, too, in the revised Prayer-Book the gibing epithet "papistical" and

the prayer for deliverance "from the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities" were omitted; and the language was throughout left so phrased that even the most opposite schools could read their own views into it. The best example of this quality—variously described as "comprehensiveness" and as "inconsistency"—is found in the Communion Service: in Edward VI.'s *First Prayer-Book* (ch. v., § 5), the words prescribed for the administration of the Sacrament had at least suggested, if they did not distinctly imply, the Catholic doctrine; in the *Second Prayer-Book* (ch. v., § 12), the words used had with equal distinctness suggested or implied the Swiss conception of the Eucharist (ch. iv., § 11, p. 153 *n.*); these two formulæ were now thrown together, and read thus:—

"The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ, which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto everlasting life. Take and eat this in remembrance that Christ died for thee, and feed on Him in thy heart by faith with thanksgiving."

The Elizabethan Hierarchy: Matthew Parker.

§ 6. The Anglican was left free, as he still is, to interpret either part in the light of the other; and Elizabeth considered it to be quite reasonable to demand from Catholic and Calvinist alike conformity to a Church which, in an age of sharply defined parties, tried to find room for all. She herself, by conforming successively to the different exclusive systems of her father, her brother, and her sister, had as it were earned a right to enforce the obedience of all subjects to the ecclesiastical laws of the State or Church. The mass of the laity accepted a settlement so thoroughly English; and when in the summer of 1559 a Royal Visitation was held by commission to enforce the new regulations, it was found that only 189 of the clergy—or only two per cent. of the total number—had to be deprived as refractory. Of these no less than 100 were dignitaries, including the whole bench of bishops, with the single exception of Bishop Kitchen of Llandaff. The remaining bishops—who happened, as there were ten vacancies at the time, to muster but fifteen—were deprived by the Commissioners appointed under the *Act of Supremacy* (§ 4, *sub* clause vi.), and were for the most part detained till their death "in free custody" by their

successors—"in a very civil and courteous manner," says Cecil, "without charge to themselves or to their friends." Their place was supplied for the most part by men who had during their exile in Mary's times, picked up strong Protestant views: such were Grindal (London), Cox (Ely), and Jewel (Salisbury). The chief of them, however, Matthew Parker, who was in August 1559 appointed to succeed Pole as Archbishop of Canterbury, and was consecrated in December by four of Edward's bishops, shared as fully as Cranmer had done Elizabeth's desire to stand fast in the ancient ways—for he was one of the leaders in the movement in favour of antiquarian research which resulted in the publication of so many old national chronicles by syndicates of Elizabethan printers,*—and did all he could by a firm moderation to secure general conformity.

Still they were not altogether in accord: Parker could not reconcile himself to Elizabeth's retention of the crucifix in her own chapel; Elizabeth, on the other hand, though she winked at the marriage of the clergy, would not permit it to be legalised during her reign. One day, as she was coming away from an at-home at Lambeth Palace, she showed her disapproval of Parker's marriage by hesitating whether to address his wife as a married lady or as a spinster: "*Madam*, I may not call you; *Mistress*, I am loth to call you——however, I thank you for your good cheer."

§ 7. Elizabeth had hardly escaped from the expenses and perils of the French war and put her foot down in religion, when she found herself directly threatened from the side of Scotland. With that country England was beginning to be so closely connected that "British" affairs were already occupying a new category intermediate between "English" and "Foreign" affairs, and the ultimate union of the kingdoms was becoming inevitable (cf. ch. i., § 8; ch. iv., § 16). The first ten years of Elizabeth's reign are little but Scots history. At her accession the Anglophile party in Scotland, which Somerset's overbearing policy had ruined (ch. v., § 3, p. 168), was being revived by a conjunction of

The Franco-Scottish Alliance, 1554-60.

* See Mr. Low's *History of English Literature*, vol. ii., pp. 21, 173.

political and religious causes. In 1554 the Earl of Arran had been bribed with the Duchy of Chatelhérault to resign the regency to Mary of Guise (Table, p. 85), the Queen-mother. She had ruled by French methods, supported by French troops and garrisons, and, as we have seen (ch. vi., § 11), bade fair to make Scotland a French province, even as Mary Tudor seemed likely to make England a Spanish province.

The Scottish Reformation, 1557-9.

In alarm at this foreign influence, many of the Scots Nobility took the people into partnership: the terms were—aid against this French Regent in return for promotion of the Reformation. The alliance was expressed in the *Bond of Union*,* December 3, 1557; and the leaders took the name of the *Lords of the Congregation*. The movement which was in England initiated by the King to secure governmental monopoly (ch. iii., esp. § 15) was in Scotland the outcome of popular religious feeling; there it was headed, in England it was supported, by the Nobility—in each case with an eye on the Church-lands (ch. iii., § 14; ch. iv., §§ 7, 8); there, too, it was from the outset distinctly Protestant, and, though the ostensible object of the *Bond of Union* was the adoption of the English liturgy, it soon outgrew such moderation. The use of the word "*congregation*"—meant to express the fact that the *Church* includes laity as well as clergy—is but one example of the all-round indebtedness of the Scottish Reformation to the Swiss Reformers (Intro., § 23). The burning of an aged preacher named Walter Mill in 1558 drew a larger popular sympathy to the movement: the return of John Knox from Geneva, in April 1559, gave it a master-mind to direct it. Next month the Regent took measures against the preachers, which resulted in an appeal to arms. Lord James Stuart, an illegitimate son of James V., later known as the Earl of Moray, interposed his mediation; but the Regent broke her engagements, and hired soldiers with French money to punish the people of Perth, who had broken out into riots against images and pictures. The

* This pledge is sometimes known as the *First Covenant*; but that name is more properly given to the bond largely subscribed in 1581 against the Papal Reaction of 1580 (ch. viii., § 14).

Lords of the Congregation again rose and summoned the Estates. In October 1559 the Regent was formally deposed by "the Nobility and Commons of the Protestants of the Church of Scotland."

Ought Elizabeth to help the Scottish Lords?

§ 8. The Lords of the Congregation appealed to Elizabeth, but she was by no means disposed to succour rebels against authority, and she was naturally indisposed to view with favour a party whose leading spirit was the author of the *First Blast* (ch. vi., § 11). Yet it was of the greatest importance to her not to let any possible friends be crushed; and without her help the Scots must be crushed by French troops. Already Francis II. (who had succeeded his father Henry in July) and his wife Mary were quartering the arms of England with those of France and Scotland, and entitling themselves sovereigns of England. There was every probability of an attempt to make good their claim; and that claim might possibly be supported by a party within England, might possibly not be opposed by the outside ally whom Elizabeth had treated in so cavalier a fashion (§ 2). Most Roman Catholics regarded Mary's title as better than Elizabeth's; and many Englishmen looked with dismay on the recent religious changes, moderate though they were. The professed object of the *Peace of Câteau-Cambrésis* was to leave the two chief Roman Catholic powers free to repress heresy. Spain, it was true, would probably land in the South of England to aid Elizabeth if she were threatened, even in the name of Roman Catholicism, by an invasion in the North from a united Franco-Scottish kingdom; but Philip triumphant in England would be hardly less dangerous to Elizabeth than the Valois-Stuart couple.

The Treaty of Berwick, Feb. 27, 1560.

After all, English Queen and Scottish Reformers had one deep thing in common: they *must* keep foreigners out of Britain. It was on this ground that they came to terms. Elizabeth's Council wanted her to stick to Philip and leave the Scots alone; Cecil wanted her to help them on religious grounds, in defence of "Christ's true religion"; and the Scots Lords wanted her to marry the young Earl of Arran, heir-presumptive to the Scots throne, and unite the kingdoms under

the name that was formally adopted in 1707—*Great Britain*. But Elizabeth would have none of these things: it was solely to exclude French interference that on February 27, 1560, the Duke of Norfolk, on behalf of Elizabeth, and Chatelhérault representing the Lords as "the second person in the kingdom," entered into the *Treaty of Berwick*:—

(i.) Elizabeth to keep an army in Scotland till the French were expelled, provided that the Lords remained loyal subjects of Mary.
(ii.) The Scottish Lords to assist Elizabeth, in case of invasion, with 4000 men.
(iii.) The Scottish Lords not to assent to the union of Scotland and France.

The Treaty of Edinburgh, July 6, 1560.

The Lords of the Congregation were at their last gasp when Admiral Winter's fleet forced the French commander D'Oyssel to take refuge in Leith. He was there blockaded both by sea and land, Lord Grey leading 8000 men from England to aid the Scottish Lords. The siege did not make very much progress, for the Scotsmen were unsatisfactory allies: they wanted to make their patriotism flourish on Elizabeth's subsidies as they had made the Church-lands pay them for their Protestantism. But owing to the beginning of religious troubles in France (§ 10), the French troops were wanted at home; and the ex-Regent died in June. A little later (July 6) the royal commissioners of Francis and Mary agreed to the *Treaty of Edinburgh* or *Leith*:—

(i.) The French army to evacuate Scotland.
(ii.) No foreigners to be employed in Scotland, save by the leave of the Estates.
(iii.) The government to be carried on by a council of twelve, nominated partly by the Queen (7), partly by the Estates (5).
(iv.) The Estates to make a religious settlement.
(v.) Mary to drop her claim to the English Crown.

The Homing of Mary, Queen of Scots, 1561.

§ 9. Elizabeth's triumph seemed complete. In eighteen months she had restored religious and financial order at home: she had proved that England had already some power abroad. Before the year was out, however, an event occurred which looked favourable at first, but was to bring years of discomfort on Elizabeth and her kingdom. Francis II. suddenly died in December 1560; and with his death collapsed the Guise

scheme for a sternly Roman Catholic Britanno-French Empire. Mary was, by all parties, begged to return to Scotland, and, being a stranger in France, and slightingly used by the Regent, Katharine de' Medici, she accepted the invitation. As she had declined, on account of the religious clause, to ratify the *Treaty of Edinburgh*, Elizabeth refused her a passage through England, and even tried to seize her on her voyage across. Mary eluded the English cruisers, and landed safely at Leith, August 19, 1561.

"The two Queens in Albion."

The two Queens now entered upon that neck-to-neck rivalry which forms the most picturesque group of events in the reign of Elizabeth. Much turns on their personal characters, each of which has been variously estimated. It requires a powerful imagination to see in either of them a saint or a devil. It is difficult to find any real morality or religion in either, though Mary had an intermittent turn for devotion and Elizabeth for theology. As regards ability, Elizabeth was perhaps the more intellectual, Mary the more intelligent; in Elizabeth caution and foresight, in Mary dash and subtlety, prevailed. To Elizabeth the head, to Mary the heart, was the ultimate arbiter: Mary was the sweeter woman, Elizabeth the better Queen.

Mary's Early Scottish Policy. 1560-3.

Mary's first measures were conciliatory. She completely supplanted Elizabeth as the protectress of the National party, and took its leader, Moray, as her chief adviser. She acquiesced in the religious settlement which had been made when, in August 1560, the Estates adopted a Confession of Faith, drawn up by Knox in twenty-five articles, abjured the authority of the Pope, and made the celebration of the Mass, thrice repeated, a capital offence. She however obtained toleration for her own religion. Yet, in 1562, she took an active part in the expedition against the Gordons, one of the principal Roman Catholic clans of the North, in which the head of the clan, the Earl of Huntley, was slain. Apparently her policy was to acquire the confidence and trust of her people, and then use her popularity to effect an ecclesiastical counter-revolution. As her policy was to bring about a change, and Elizabeth's was to preserve the *status quo*, the two Queens

were, however amicable their present relations might be, essentially hostile; and for some years the future history of both the British kingdoms seemed to depend on Mary's success or failure.

Elizabeth's Occupation of Havre, April 1562—July 1563.

§ 10. While Mary was still lying low in Scotland, Elizabeth was compelled by other causes to move from her policy of inactivity, both abroad and at home. Very shortly after the death of Mary's French husband, France found herself involved in civil war. In April 1562, the French Reformers or *Huguenots*,* believing themselves to be stronger than they turned out to be, rose in arms under two nobles of the blood-royal, Condé and Coligny, to resist the attempt to deprive them of a certain measure of toleration which had recently been granted to them, and which they had abused. As the Catholic party, headed by the Guises, looked to Spain for aid, the Huguenots naturally turned to England; and as the independence of England would not be worth a year's purchase if France and Spain really united to put down all revolts from Rome, Elizabeth was driven to act as protector to the French Protestants, rebels though they were (cf. § 8). Her terms were hard—the occupation of Havre as security for the restoration of Calais,—and her service light. After the Huguenot leaders had been defeated and captured at Dreux in the autumn of 1562, and the Duke of Guise had been assassinated in the following February, the combatants patched up the *Peace of Amboise* in March 1563; they united to expel Warwick's garrison from Havre, after nine months' occupation, in July; and in April 1564 France and England entered into the *Peace of Troyes*. Elizabeth thought she had been hardly treated, and became still more shy of armed interference, still more convinced that diplomacy was better. The incident had illustrated the fact that, whatever her personal sentiment or ecclesiastical system, Elizabeth must needs be politically a Protestant.

* The name is said to be a corruption of the German word *Eidgenossen*, meaning the Confederates of the Swiss cantons, and consequently to express the fact that they derived their religious ideas from Calvin and the other Swiss Reformers (Intro., § 23). They were strongest in those parts which are *dotted* in the map on p. 45—especially the Cevennes, Dauphiny, Poitou, Guienne and Normandy.

The Retrospective *Test Act* of 1563.

Meanwhile her temporising policy at home was beginning to break down (cf. §§ 3, 5). In 1563 the Council of Trent finally finished its work of doctrinal definition and administrative reform (Intro., §§ 23-26), and mild-mannered Pope Pius IV. forbade English Catholics to continue conforming to a religious system which was independent of the Council. By way of an answer to this, Elizabeth, early in 1563, procured from her second Parliament an Act giving her fuller powers to repress Romanists. Parliament was still alarmed at the defeat of the Huguenots at Dreux, and despite Lord Montague's earnest advocacy of toleration (ch. viii., § 2), passed "an Act for the assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions":—

The Preamble recites the "hurts, perils, dishonours, and inconveniences" that have beforetime befallen the Queen's Majesty's noble progenitors . . . "by means of the jurisdiction and power of the See of Rome, unjustly claimed and usurped within the Realm"; and stated that "the fautors of the said usurped power" have "at this time grown to marvellous outrage and licentious boldness, and [are] now requiring more sharp restraint and correction of laws than hitherto in the time of the Queen's Majesty's most mild and merciful reign have been had, used or established."

(i.) Maintenance of the authority of the Pope punishable as *praemunire*.

(ii.) The Oath of Supremacy might be tendered by a bishop or the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to—

(*a*) All persons who had ever taken holy orders;
(*b*) all persons who had been admitted to any degree in the Universities;
(*c*) all schoolmasters, public or private teachers of children;
(*d*) all who had been admitted to the practice of the laws, or held any office in their execution; and
(*e*) all members of Commons, but not to the Lords Temporal.

(iii.) The penalty for the first refusal was to be that of *praemunire*; for the second that of high treason.

The "fond and fantastical prophecies" against the Queen attributed to the Roman Catholics hardly justified such a measure; nor was there any serious plotting inside England against Elizabeth,—for the conspiracy of Arthur and Edmund Pole, nephews of the Cardinal, was but a flash in the pan (February 1563). The powers conferred by the Act were not, however, widely enforced: still, they

might be useful to the Government, if Elizabeth and Mary came to fight *à outrance*.

The Question of the English Succession.

§ 11. The issue was at bottom a religious question, but it formally turned on political or personal points (§ 3). Elizabeth's idea was that if the balancing system which she had established were allowed to rest undisturbed for a few years, it would win the affection of the mass of Englishmen, and thus acquire the stability that comes of being "broad-based upon the people's will." Most of her advisers feared her death, and, having had full experience of the disastrous effect of the revolutions which had of late taken place with the accession of each new ruler to power, thought that stability would best be secured by making it clear who was to sit in Elizabeth's seat should she die. Consequently, the question of the succession to the throne colours the reign of Elizabeth no less than it had coloured that of her father (ch. ii., § 14; ch. iv., § 12). Would Elizabeth kindly oblige her subjects by either marrying or naming her successor?

1. Possible Successors: Suffolk or Stuart?

Elizabeth dallied with these questions for a quarter of a century, and ultimately made her subjects tired of asking them. She could not anwer either without committing herself to one or other of the religious parties that were by now pretty well hardened into sects. If she named a successor she must perforce pitch upon either the House of Suffolk or the House of Stuart (Table, p. xiii.): to ratify her father's choice of the former (ch. iv., § 12; ch. v., § 13) would be to make all who looked longingly towards Rome either uncomfortable or desperate—according to the strength of their convictions; to name the latter would estrange and terrify the increasing number of Scotsmen and Englishmen alike whose sympathies were with Protestantism. Elizabeth practically discountenanced the Suffolk family by committing its representative Lady Katharine Grey—semi-Queen Jane's sister—to the Tower, in 1561, for illicitly marrying the Earl of Hertford, son of the Protector Somerset, and still more by declaring the marriage invalid. But though she thus cleared the way for Mary Queen of Scots, she would not explicitly recognise her as successor.

Elizabeth feared that if Mary were formally declared presumptive heiress, some zealot might be found to clear the way for her quicker succession; and when Mary offered to renounce her present claims on condition that her reversionary claims were acknowledged, Elizabeth simply remarked: "I am not so foolish as to hang a winding-sheet before my eyes, or to make a funeral feast while I am alive."

2. Possible Husbands for Elizabeth, 1556-66.

§ 12. The nation at large was eager that Elizabeth should do her best to solve the difficulty by marriage. This solution was complicated by a much greater variety of alternatives. Her suitors were as many as Portia's: Shakspere may well have been thinking of his Queen when he wrote (*Merchant of Venice*, Act ii., sc. vii.):—

> "From the four quarters of the earth they come
> To kiss this shrine, this mortal-breathing saint."

Before her accession Filibert, Duke of Savoy, and Eric, son of the Swedish King, Gustavus Vasa, had been spoken of. During the first three years of her reign she played alternately with the offers of the Scots Earl of Arran (§ 8) and of the Archduke Charles, son of the Emperor Ferdinand (Table, p. 84): when either suitor became very pressing she encouraged the other. But Arran was half an idiot, and to marry him would have estranged Roman Catholics in Britain as decidedly as to marry the Archduke Charles would have estranged the pronounced Protestants. Over and above any such political reasons, however, for not marrying any of those who on political grounds became her suitors, there stood her personal preference for Robert Dudley, fifth son of the Duke of Northumberland, a good-looking but good-for-nothing courtier whom she called her "*Sweet Robin.*" She may not have loved him, but she liked him: and she flirted with him to an extent sufficient to cause such scandals as that the death of Dudley's wife, "Amy Robsart," at Cumnor Hall, near Oxford, in September 1560, was due to violence directed by Dudley and connived at by the Queen.* But she was steadily dissuaded

* This story, which has never been substantiated, is found in Cecil's schedule of reasons against the marriage (see Appendix V., *s.v.* LEICESTER), and is worked into Scott's novel *Kenilworth*.

from marrying him by her most intimate advisers. By 1567 his chances were gone; and Elizabeth had finally decided to abide by her resolve to remain a "*Virgin Queen.*"

Parliament and the Succession, 1566.

Neither Parliament nor Council supported Elizabeth in thus keeping the succession open. Her second Parliament, in its second session, held in the autumn of 1566,—when Mary was at the highest pitch of her power (§ 13), and the air was full of rumours about a joint conspiracy against Protestantism hatched between Katharine de' Medici of France and Philip's most trusted general Alva in their meeting at Bayonne in June 1565,—took the matter so much to heart as to talk of withholding supplies until some settlement had been made. The Queen would be a stepmother to her realm did she not marry, was the cry of the Commons: she ought to be made to marry, or else Parliament ought to take the law into its own hands and name a successor, said the Lords. And when the Queen, in her annoyance, ordered the Houses "to proceed no further in that matter," Paul Wentworth moved to know whether such an inhibition were not against the liberties of the House. To the great joy of the Commons Elizabeth, though grudgingly, recalled her injunction; but she took advantage of the discordance between the two Houses as to the best successor—the Lords preferring the Queen of Scots, the Commons holding fast by the will of Henry VIII.—to come to no decision.

The Darnley Marriage, July 29, 1565.

§ 13. Before Elizabeth had done shilly-shallying with her "lap-dog" Dudley and the Archduke Charles, her rival Mary had married a second time, become a widow, and again re-married. After some talk of a match with Don Carlos, son of Philip II. (Table, p. 84), or with Dudley—whom Elizabeth herself had suggested in order to provide her with a husband likely to keep her faithful to English interests, and whom she created Earl of Leicester to make him a more exalted suitor,—Mary suddenly married her cousin Henry Stuart (Table, p. xiii.), Lord Darnley and Duke of Albany. He and his father Lennox were exiles in England, but Elizabeth was induced to let them return home by Mary's acceptance of the hand

of Leicester. A rapid courtship was followed by the marriage of Mary and Darnley on July 29, 1565.

The marriage was, and was felt to be, highly significant. Darnley was a Roman Catholic, and in the eyes of many Englishmen, especially of Roman Catholics, the next after Mary in succession to the English crown. By marrying him Mary hinted pretty plainly that she intended to restore Roman Catholicism at home, to push the joint claims of herself and her husband to the English crown, and to throw her strength on the side of the long-meditated Catholic League (§§ 2, 12), or, that failing, on the side not of France, where the Regent Katharine was for temporising (*i.e.*, was, technically speaking, a "*Politique*"), but of Spain, the more energetic champion of the Holy See. Nor did the hint pass unnoticed. Elizabeth at once threatened war should the marriage take place. Philip, though he counselled caution, drew towards Mary, saying, "She is the one gate through which religion can be restored in England—all the rest are closed." Moray and the Lords of the Congregation made an appeal to the sword, but were easily driven across the Border, only to be disowned by Elizabeth as rebels.

Mary seemed triumphant. But within a few months the quarrels between her and her husband were common talk. Darnley was a pretty little fool, too childish to aid, too jealous to trust, his wife in her great schemes. He wanted the crown matrimonial, and cried because he was not allowed to have it. He was jealous of David Rizzio, an Italian who was Mary's confidential agent in her foreign negotiations. With a view to becoming King in something more than name, and to get rid of this Italian secretary, Darnley struck an alliance with the heads of the Protestant party, promising in return for their help to do his best for the recall of the banished Lords, and for the maintenance of Protestantism. On March 9, 1566, Rizzio was brutally murdered in the Queen's chamber at Holyrood by Darnley's kinsmen, Lords Ruthven, Morton, and others; and the Earl of Bedford, the English commander at Berwick, wrote in high spirits to Cecil that "everything would now go well."

The Rizzio Murder, March 9, 1566.

Mary was not so easily beaten. She loathed Darnley—"*Judas*," as she had called him when he was holding her in his arms at Rizzio's murder—but she must needs make use of him. A few caresses won the weak conspirator to her side. Mary induced him to disavow the plot, and carried him off to Dunbar, where they were joined by troops collected by the Earl of Huntley and James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. With these at her back Mary returned to Edinburgh, banished the Lords who had taken part in the murder, and patched up terms with the returned Lords Moray and Maitland. On June 19, **1566**, she gave birth to the infant who was destined to unite the two kingdoms. "The Queen of Scots," cried Elizabeth in her loneliness, "is the mother of a fair son, and I am a barren stock!" Mary again seemed triumphant; and, as we have seen (§ 12), the English Parliament showed its sense of the danger by displaying unusual boldness in trying to force Elizabeth to settle the English succession.

Birth of a son to Mary, June 19, 1566.

§ 14. If Mary owed her former check to the folly of her husband, she had herself to thank for what now took place. Whether she took an active part in Darnley's murder, or was cognizant of it, or simply took advantage of the freedom it gave her, is and always will be disputed: if she committed no crime, she at least committed many blunders. Darnley's murder was deliberately arranged in the *Bond of Craigmillar* by Bothwell and Huntley on the one side, and Argyll and Maitland on the other: it was completed in a very bungling manner by Bothwell on February 10, **1567**. Darnley had been taken ill with small-pox and brought to Edinburgh by his wife, who nursed him assiduously in a lonely house named Kirk o' Field. One night when she left him to attend some festivities, the house was blown up, and Darnley was found strangled in the garden.

The Darnley Murder, February 10, 1567.

Bothwell was at once suspected. He was, indeed, formally accused of the murder by Darnley's father, Lennox; but owing to the presence of Bothwell's rough Border-riders the trial was a mere mockery, and ended in his acquittal. Shortly afterwards

The Bothwell Marriage, May 15, 1567.

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Bothwell induced some twenty Lords assembled in Ainslie's Tavern to sign a bond recommending the Queen to marry him. She was ready enough. There may be some doubt as to whether she ever loved Darnley: there can be none that she loved Bothwell. One obstacle had been removed by Darnley's death: another was removed by the divorce of Bothwell's wife, Huntley's sister, in both Catholic and Protestant courts. Before this, however, on April 30, Bothwell had intercepted Mary while visiting her son, who was under Mar's custody at Stirling, and carried her off to Dunbar. Thence she returned to Edinburgh with her lover, now Duke of Orkney and Shetland, and married him on May 15, 1567.

§ 15. Mary had been forewarned that "if she married that man she would lose the favour of God, her own reputation, and the hearts of all England, Ireland, and Scotland." Bothwell's religion estranged her from her best and warmest adherents, the Catholics; his character aroused the disgust of all parties; whilst his elevation excited the jealousy and dread of the nobility. Though the Queen declared for the Confession of 1560, the Lords were soon leading an outcry against "the unhonest marriage." Headed by Mar, Morton, Athole, and Argyll, the Lords drove Mary and her husband from Borthwick Castle to Dunbar; and a few days later the two armies met near Musselburgh—hard by the spot where Somerset had defeated her troops in her infancy (ch. v., § 3). But Bothwell's undisciplined forces melted away; and at Carberry Hill, June 15, 1567, Mary was forced to surrender herself to the Lords, on condition that Bothwell should be allowed to escape—which accordingly he did, and after ten years of piracy died in a Danish prison.

Battle of Carberry Hill, June 15, 1567.

Mary was taken to Edinburgh, where she was hooted and almost torn to pieces by the Calvinistic populace. There was some talk of bringing her to trial and execution, but she was ultimately imprisoned in Lochleven Castle in Fife. There, on July 23, she consented to abdicate, and her son became King as James VI. Moray—whom Professor Froude calls "the one supremely noble man then living in the country"

Battle of Langside, May 13, 1568.

—was recalled from France to act as Regent, and did his best to ward off all foreign intervention in the country. He firmly established his power on May 13, 1568, by defeating Mary (who had escaped from her prison and fled to the Hamiltons) at Langside, near Glasgow. Mary hurriedly rode south, crossed the Solway, and, landing near Workington, threw herself on the protection of her life-long rival. Elizabeth, though she shared the common opinion of the time that Mary was a murderess and an adulteress, was the one sovereign who had befriended her in her adversity, by declining to recognise Moray's government. And if Elizabeth did not prove as good as her word, Mary believed that in the North of England at least she had as many adherents as the reigning English Queen.

English International Policy: Alternatives.

§ 16. Mary's coming greatly embarrassed Elizabeth, who already had her hands full with the task of meeting a rising opposition to her religious settlement at home (ch. viii., §§ 1-8), and of securing herself against danger from abroad. The period of Mary's rule was also that of the rise of the party which from their demand for *purer* forms of worship began about 1564 to be called *Puritans*. It was also a critical time in Elizabeth's foreign relations. There was a powerful party in the Council, headed by Norfolk and supported by the majority of the Peers, which urged a cordial alliance with Spain, and the acceptance of Mary as successor: this party was greatly impressed with the power of Spain, and insisted on the necessity of keeping the trade with the Low Countries open (cf. ch. i., § 7; ii., § 15). On the other hand stood the Protestant party, headed by Cecil and Walsingham, which urged that England was now strong enough to defy Spain, and must do so if England was to retain the Reformation. The cry of this party was to be found in the words of the Puritan, Sir Francis Knollys: "There has been enough of words—it were time to draw swords."

Huguenots and Gueux, 1568.

This party was for active intervention on behalf of the Huguenots of France and the insurgent *Gueux* (*i.e.*, "Beggars") in the Netherlands. Both of these groups of malcontents were, about the time of Mary's flight, being hard pressed by their

adversaries. The Huguenots (§ 10), threatened by the *rapprochement* of the Regent Katharine to her old enemies, the Guises, plunged into the Second Religious War in 1567, and into the Third in 1568. The Gueux, who had in 1566 taken up arms partly against the severity of the Inquisition, partly in defence of their ancient liberties against the centralising policy of Philip, were so repeatedly beaten that in 1568 Alva claimed to have "extinguished sedition, chastised rebellion, restored religion, secured justice, and established peace." He had also forced into antagonism to Spanish methods the future liberator of the Netherlands, William of Orange (ch. viii., § 12; ix., § 3). The position of her struggling neighbours, whom the majority of Englishmen were beginning to regard as co-religionists, closely affected England. The Reformers in the Netherlands and France worked to some extent together: this tended, despite political jealousies, to bring Philip II. and the Catholic party in France together. If they once united, as they did later on (ch. ix., §§ 5, 12), for the repression of heresy at home, they might continue united long enough to crush heretics abroad—Elizabeth among the first.

Elizabeth and Spain.

Between the two parties in the Council Elizabeth attempted, as usual, to steer a middle course. But though she would not go as far as Cecil wished, she certainly leaned towards his policy. To interfere actively on behalf of the French or Netherlandish Reformers would be to take sides; it might lead to the outbreak of a chronic civil war such as France was now enduring: and in that case might well lead to the invasion of England on behalf of the party against which the Government took sides. With her small revenue of £500,000 a year, Elizabeth could not afford to fight: "No war, my Lords! no war!" she would cry in Council, thumping the table the while. But she was glad to see France and Spain with their hands full, and, though she would not make open war, she encouraged acts of hostility against Spain. Huguenot privateers and Dutch Sea-Beggars openly sold in Plymouth the goods they had seized from Spanish ships. Sir John Hawkins had started a piratical slave-trade with the Spanish West Indies in 1562, and in later ventures of his

the Queen herself took shares. In September 1568 Drake and Hawkins had their first serious brush with Spain at Vera Cruz, the port of Mexico; and in December Elizabeth arbitrarily seized treasure on its way from Italy to the Netherlands for the payment of Alva's troops there, though she gave it up when she found that the money was Genoese property till actually delivered. It was only natural to expect that such conduct would lead to open war with Spain, which should have a decisive influence on the religion of England (ch. viii., §§ 9, 11; ch. ix., §§ 1-10).

Elizabeth's Indecisive Conduct towards Mary, 1568-9.

§ 17. While Elizabeth was thus cautiously feeling her way amongst the dangers that threatened her from abroad, Mary took refuge in England. The question was, what to do with her. Hand her over unconditionally to Moray, as Cecil urged? That would be to encourage rebellion. Restore her by force of arms or by diplomatic pressure? Mary's character made her no agreeable *protégée*; and to champion her rights would alienate the Scottish Lords. Permit her to retire to France, as she herself wished? She would there become a tool of the Guises. Detain her in custody? She would then be unable to do any further mischief. At least that was the notion of the advisers whom Elizabeth chose to follow. It soon turned out, however, that Mary captive was more dangerous than Mary regnant, and that her sufferings touched men more than her follies had estranged them. Till her death, in 1587 (ch. ix., § 7), she was the centre of disaffection, political or religious, in England. "Every tear she dropped put a sword into the hands of the Pope and the Spaniard."

The Conference of York, October 1568.

Elizabeth did not like to help her rival, and yet could not bring herself to sanction rebellion by helping Moray. She wanted to restore Mary in such a way as to make her a puppet in her own hands. As a step towards this, a Conference began, in October 1568, to sit at York under the presidency of the Duke of Norfolk, nominally to review the recent acts of the rebel Lords, really to investigate Mary's character. Nothing came of it. Moray produced the *Casket Letters*, alleged to have passed between Mary and Bothwell, in

proof of Mary's guilt: unfortunately for his purpose, they could not then, any more than now, be proved genuine. Mary wished for a personal interview with Elizabeth, which was declined until Mary's "good name should be cleared." Elizabeth suggested that Mary might remain in England to educate her son, for whom Moray might continue to act as Regent: by this arrangement Elizabeth hoped at once to secure a friendly government in Scotland, and to purchase Mary's quietude by what was tantamount to adopting James as heir to the English Crown. But Mary would not sign away all her personal aspirations on the off-chance of her son's succession. Ultimately Mary was sent to Bolton Castle, and Moray returned to Scotland with the loan of £5000 "for the maintenance of peace between England and Scotland."

The Arrest of Norfolk, October 1569.

§ 18. If Elizabeth fancied that was the end of the matter, she miscalculated greatly. The idea of the Catholicising nobility was that Mary should be regarded as the successor, and marry someone who could be counted upon to restore England to harmony with Rome. The Extremists suggested Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria (Table, p. 84); the Moderates suggested the one Englishman who then bore a ducal title—the Duke of Norfolk. Even the latter scheme, though favoured by Leicester, displeased Elizabeth—never kindly disposed to other folk's hope of connubial bliss. Besides she did not feel sure of Norfolk's loyalty: "if she consented, she would be in the Tower before four months were over." Finding that Norfolk was intriguing with Spain, she clapped him into the Tower for a time in October 1569 (ch. viii., § 11).

The Rising of the Northern Earls, 1569.

His imprisonment put an end to the hope of carrying out the Roman Catholic designs by the comparatively peaceful means of getting rid of Cecil. In November the Catholic North broke into revolt. The leaders of the movement were the Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, the heads of the great houses of Percy and Neville; its cry was for the "old usage and custom in religion"; and its immediate aims were the rescue of Mary from her new prison at Tutbury, her marriage to Don John, and not merely, as in 1536 (ch. iv., § 5),

the removal of objectionable ministers but the actual deposition of the Sovereign. The danger had been hovering over Elizabeth ever since her accession, and she was not sorry to let it come to a head and crush it before any assistance could be organised either by foreigners or by the English religious refugees who were gathering at Antwerp under the protecting wing of Alva. She was determined, as she wrote about this time, that

"No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port,
Our realm, it brooks no stranger's force, let them elsewhere resort."

Flight of the Earls, and Death of Moray, January 1570.

The conservatism of the North had become intensified by thirty years of religious changes. When Grindal became Archbishop of York in 1570 he reported that "this seems to be another Church, rather than a member of the rest"; and one of the first acts of the rebel Lords was to cause Mass to be sung once more in Latin at the restored high altar in Durham Cathedral. "There were not ten gentlemen in Yorkshire that did allow her proceedings in the cause of religion," the Earl of Sussex, President of the North, wrote to the Queen. But Sussex was equal to the occasion. He hastily removed Mary south to Coventry, executed over 600 rebels, and drove the earls across the Borders. Elizabeth's demand that they should be given up caused a split among the Scots Lords, in which Maitland and Moray headed the rival factions. Maitland, believing that Mary's chances were reviving, headed the *Queen's Party:* Moray stood by his trust as Regent, and headed the *King's Party.* Before, however, he could comply with Elizabeth's demand for the extradition of the Earl of Northumberland—for the Earl of Westmorland had escaped to France,—Moray was shot down by James Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, as he rode through Linlithgow (January 23, 1570). Moray was the one statesman capable of keeping order in Scotland, and the one Scotsman who was sure to recognise the solidarity of British interests. Outwardly Elizabeth often behaved shabbily to him: none the less she recognised clearly that he was her firmest friend, and when she heard of his death she wept bitterly.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ELIZABETHAN CHURCH SETTLEMENT AND ITS DEFENCE.

From the Bull of Deposition to the Jesuit Invasion, 1570—1583.

§ 1. Pius V.'s *Bull of Deposition*, May 15, 1570: its effects on Elizabeth's ecclesiastical policy.—§ 2. Elizabeth's Third Parliament, April-May, 1571: its answer to the Pope's challenge.—§ 3. Elizabeth and "Religious Persecution."—§ 4. Ecclesiastical Acts and Bills of 1571: the Rise of Puritanism.—§ 5. The Continuity of Party-history in the Anglican Church; Some Sixteenth-Century Developments of Puritanism.—§ 6. Protestantism in (*a*) the feelings of Englishmen, (*b*) the government of the Church: Presbyterianism and Separatism.—§ 7. Elizabeth's attitude to Rome and Geneva on the Seat of Authority in Religion.—§ 8. The attitude of Rome and Geneva to Elizabeth's Supremacy: the Repression of Debate.—§ 9. Elizabeth's Foreign Policy, 1570-80: (*a*) Scottish Regents and the Siege of Edinburgh, May 1573.—§ 10. (*b*) France, 1570-72: Marriage Projects and the "Paris Mattins."—§ 11. (*c*) Spain and the Ridolfi Plot, 1571-72.—§ 12. (*d*) The Netherlands, 1573-79: Elizabeth's Relations with Spanish Governors', William of Orange, and Francis, Duke of Alençon-Anjou.—§ 13. Dr. Allen, Seminary Priests, and Jesuits: Features of the Counter-Reformation.—§ 14. The Jesuit Invasion of the British Isles, 1579-83.—§ 15. Retaliation: anti-Romanist Measures of 1581 and 1585.—§ 16. The Regulation of the Press, 1581-85; Archbishop Whitgift and the Court of High Commission, 1583.

Pius V.'s Bull of Deposition, February 1570.

§ 1. On May 15, 1570, the Papal Bull *Regnans in Excelsis* was found affixed to the Bishop of London's door; and the consequences of that act by no means ended with the execution of Felton, the man who had nailed it there. The Bull declared in set terms that Elizabeth was a bastard, a usurper, and a heretic, and called upon all good Catholics to withdraw their allegiance and assist in dethroning a person who, not being a Christian, was unfit to rule over Christian subjects.

The power of deposition thus assumed may be a power fit and proper to be exercised by a "Vicar of Christ"; but it has never been cordially and disinterestedly acknowledged by even Roman Catholic princes or subjects; it has seldom been effective on its own merits; and it has in our own day been to all intents and purposes renounced.*

Some effects of the Bull.

In the present instance the Bull was countenanced by neither of the greatest Powers in the obedience of Rome: for France was busy with negotiations for a treaty with England (§ 10), and Spain was loth to quarrel with a Power which could so easily promote and maintain further disaffection in the Netherlands (§ 12). But though thus unsupported by his natural allies, Pope Pius was a formidable foe: he was instant against both Huguenot and Netherlandish "heretics," and he had been at the back of the Northern Rebellion. Like his predecessor Paul III.'s Bull against Henry VIII (ch. iv., § 6), the Bull of Pope Pius was issued too late to influence waverers during the recent Northern Rebellion; but his Bull, unlike that of 1538, had the effect of spoiling the reformed Anglican Church polity. Hitherto, despite the prohibition of Pius IV. (ch. vii., § 10), Romanists had for the most part conformed to the revised Anglican ritual, hoping for better things: now Pius V. forced Catholics to choose between allegiance to the Queen and obedience to the Pope. It was a nuisance to have to choose between a Queen interfering in things spiritual, and a Pope interfering in things temporal: if only they would each but mind their own business!

Can a Roman Catholic be a loyal Englishman?

The severe treatment which Roman Catholics received for many generations and were legally exposed to till 1829, was based on the assumption that a sincere Roman Catholic, believing in the deposing power of the Pope, could not be a loyal Englishman. The apparent necessity of making a choice between Pope and Queen seemed to put an end to the validity of many of the arguments with which Lord

* Leo XIII., in his brief of May 1892 to the French bishops, bade them "accept without reserve, with that perfect loyalty becoming in a Christian, the civil power in that form in which *de facto* it exists. The commonweal of society makes it pre-eminent over any other interest," etc.

Montague had pleaded against the *Test Act* of 1563 (ch. vii., § 10):—

(*a*) "This law is not necessary; forasmuch as the Catholics of this realm disturb not nor hinder the public affairs of the realm, neither temporal nor spiritual. They dispute not; they preach not; they disobey not the Queen; they cause no trouble nor tumults among the people: so that no man can say that thereby the realm doth receive any hurt or damage by them. They have brought into the realm no novelties in doctrine or religion. This being true and evident, as it is indeed, there is no necessity why any new law should be made against them. And where there is no sore nor grief, medicines are superfluous, and also hurtful and dangerous."

(*b*) "I do entreat whether it be just to make this penal statute to force the subjects of this realm to receive and believe the religion of Protestants on pain of death. This I say to be a thing most unjust; for that it is repugnant to the natural liberty of man's understanding. For understanding may be persuaded but not forced. . . . To be still or dissemble may be borne and suffered for a time—to keep his reckoning with God alone; but to be compelled to lie and to swear, or else to die therefor, are things which no man ought to suffer or endure."

Anti-Romanist and anti-Marian Legislation of Elizabeth's Third Parliament, 1571.

§ 2. Elizabeth felt aggrieved that, in spite of all her pains to make the Royal Supremacy acceptable to all by ordering nothing that, in her estimation, could reasonably offend any one (ch. vii., § 5), that Supremacy was attacked, and the ecclesiastical unity which she based thereon destroyed; she was alarmed at the support given to Mary's claims by her own subjects; and she was annoyed at the alliance between her religious malcontents and foreign politicians and teachers. Against all these her enemies, therefore, she had herself armed with weapons by her third Parliament, which sat through April and May in the year following the issue of the Bull:—

I. An Act regarding the Queen's Title and the Succession.

(i.) Declares it to be *high treason*: (1) to affirm that some other person than the Queen ought to enjoy the Crown; (2) to publish that she is "a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel or usurper of the Crown"; (3) to claim or usurp the Crown during the Queen's life; (4) to affirm the right in succession of the Crown in some other than the Queen; (5) "to affirm that the laws and statutes do not bind the right of the Crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance or governance thereof."

(ii.) Imposes the penalty of a year's imprisonment for the first, the penalties of *præmunire* for the second, offence, (1) on all who affirm

in writing or printing, and (2) on all who print or bind books affirming, that any one particular person, save the natural issue of her body, is or ought to be heir and successor to the Queen "before the same be established by Parliament."

II. An Act against the Romish Priesthood and Practices.

Preamble speaks of those who import Papal Bulls as "seditious and very evil-disposed people, without respect of their duty to ALMIGHTY GOD, or of the faith and allegiance which they ought to bear to our Sovereign Lady the Queen, . . . but minding, as it should seem, very seditiously and unnaturally, not only to bring this Realm and the Imperial Crown thereof (being in very deed of itself most free) into the thraldom and subjection of that foreign, usurped and unlawful jurisdiction and pre-eminence and authority claimed by the See of Rome, but also to estrange and alienate the hearts and minds of sundry Her Majesty's subjects from their dutiful obedience, and to raise and stir sedition and rebellion within this Realm."

(i.) All persons publishing any Bull from Rome, or absolving or reconciling any one to the Church of Rome, or being so reconciled, to incur the penalties of high treason.

(ii.) Any person importing or using an *Agnus Dei*, crosses, pictures, or "such like vain and superstitious things" consecrated by the Bishop of Rome or his deputies, to incur the penalties of *praemunire*: connivance hereat to be accounted misprision of treason.

§ 3. The first of these Acts provided, as far as possible, against violence on the part of Mary or her adherents, but said nothing against her so long as she behaved herself: here, as always, Elizabeth kept the way open for Mary's succession, but would not permit it to be guaranteed by statute (ch. vii., § 11, *fin.*). The second Act has laid Elizabeth open to the charge of religious persecution. The charge is true or not according to the meaning attached to the words "religious persecution." If they mean punishment of people for believing doctrines maintained by the punisher to be erroneous in the sight of God the charge is as untrue in Elizabeth's case as it is true in that of her sister (ch. vi., § 6). If they mean punishment of people for disobeying the ecclesiastical laws of the State of which they are citizens, the charge is true. Both kinds of "persecution"—that which takes note of unrighteous heresy and that which takes note of illegal nonconformity—have now gone out of fashion; both flourished in the sixteenth century (Intro., § 25); and both are susceptible of all manner of justification and denunciation.

Was Elizabeth a "religious persecutor"?

Alternatives: Pope? or Queen?

Elizabeth's ecclesiastical ideal, like her father's, was an adaptation to the national State of the old Imperial Catholic system (Intro., §§ 6, 24, 26): all Englishmen were *ipso facto* Anglicans, and it was as subversive of unity and order to permit disobedience to ecclesiastical as to secular laws. Only whereas Henry had taken his title Defender of the Faith seriously (ch. ii., § 11; iv., §§ 3, 10, 11) and punished unorthodoxy as heresy, Elizabeth contented herself with exacting such a conformity to her own Church laws as she had herself shown to those of her predecessors. In the Proclamation which she had issued after the suppression of the Northern Rebellion, she had pointedly disclaimed any desire to "sift men's consciences," but no less pointedly asserted that she could not away with the pretext of religion under which the rebels had striven to undo the good effects of her eleven years of peaceful, economical, and clement government. In other words, she professed to attack religious opinions only when they menaced civil order: no one, surely, could be a loyal subject who denied her Supremacy; or, still more, accepted the doctrine of the Pope's power to depose princes. It was, in a new form, the old problem of a divided allegiance—the problem which had started Henry VIII. on his anti-Papal career (ch. iii., § 2). But Elizabeth knew that few men practically act up to what they imagine that they believe; and confident that if she could only get her people to come to church for a few years, she would wean them from clinging to the bosom of the Church of Rome, she had left them alone until the Bull of Deposition put the issue plainly before the waverers. Should they commit the sin of disobeying the Pope or the crime of disobeying the Queen? The increasing pressure from external enemies caused Elizabeth, whether justly or wisely is open to question, to put increased pressure on internal opponents who might, as in France, aid those external enemies (§§ 13-15; ch. ix., § 5). Let Elizabeth herself once more explain (cf. ch. vii., § 18):

"The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy,
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy;
For falsehood now doth flow and subject faith doth ebb—
Which would not be if reason ruled or wisdom weaved the web."

§ 4. The Parliament of 1571 which passed these anti-Romanist measures (§ 2) was the Parliament in which there first came to the front that ultra-Protestant party which was to play so great a part in English history during the next hundred years (Intro., § 30; and vol. III., Intro., §§ 11, 12). This party was not content with passing the Government measure "for the ministers of the Church to be of sound religion"—*i.e.*, the Act requiring all clergymen, before they entered into a benefice, to subscribe the *Thirty-nine Articles of Faith and Religion* which had received the sanction of Convocation in 1563 (ch. vii., § 5), and which were far less acceptable to Catholics than the Prayer-Book that had hitherto served as a doctrinal standard: it also prepared no fewer than seven Bills for the reform of the abuses (pluralities, patronage, etc.) and liturgy of the Church.

Ecclesiastical Acts and Bills of 1571.

To Elizabeth such an attempt, on the part of Parliament, to initiate ecclesiastical legislation seemed an iniquitous infringement of her cherished Supremacy. The mover, Strickland, was ordered not to attend the House; but as an agitation on his behalf was begun by Yelverton, the Queen, after the interval of but one day, allowed him to return. This friction had arisen in spite of the fact that Elizabeth, mindful of the stir in the last session in 1566 (ch. vii., § 12), had, in response to the Speaker's customary demand for the recognition of their privilege of Freedom of Speech at the opening of the session, warned the Commons that "they would do well to meddle with no matters of State but such as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves in other matters concerning the commonwealth."

The religious party which thus made its first memorable appearance on the political stage was sprung from those more thorough-going Reformers who had picked up their ideas from South German religious refugees in Edward VI.'s time (ch. v., § 12, and reff.); who, as refugees themselves, had had those ideas strengthened by their residence during Mary's reign in Frankfurt, Zurich, Basel, and Geneva; and who on their return to England had urged Elizabeth to make the Church of England irretrievably and unmistakably Protestant.

The Rise of Puritanism, 1555–1565.

To them as to John Knox, even Edward VI.'s *Second Prayer-Book* seemed full of "superstition"; and Elizabeth's spirit of compromise seemed to be establishing, as Bishop Cox put it, "a leaden, not a golden mediocrity." They found in the crucifix and altar-candles used in the Queen's chapel "the pattern and precedent of all superstition"; they shirked compliance with the ceremonial regulations of the *Act of Uniformity* (ch. vii., § 4); and in the Convocation of 1563 a motion to abolish the compulsory observance of the "Popish" usages still retained was lost by only one vote (58 to 59). The chief of these usages were the wearing of the surplice, the making of the sign of the cross in Baptism, the use of the ring in Matrimony, bowing at the name of Jesus, the accompaniment of musical instruments or even singing in the services of the Church, and kneeling at the Communion. And when two years later all these were enforced by Archbishop Parker's *Advertisements*, thirty-seven out of the ninety-eight London clergy refused to obey and were suspended, though they were for the most part allowed to resume their offices on the understanding that they did not countenance irregularities. From their constant advocacy of simpler ceremonies, of a "purer" form of worship, these people came about 1564—the date is Fuller's—to be known as *Puritans*.

Continuity of Parties in the Anglican Church.

§ 5. These early Puritans were not, technically speaking, *Nonconformists*,* but rather discontented Conformists: they were a party within the Church of England who wished that Church to be modelled on the Church of Geneva, as the Romanist party desired it to be restored to the Roman communion. These two parties were respectively represented—with different issues of course—in the Mediaeval Church by the *Seculars*, who were somewhat "stand-off-ish" in their attitude to Rome, and by the *Regulars* who were more submissive; and they are represented to-day by the *Anglo-Catholic* and *Evangelical* parties in the Church. In

* The term *Nonconformist* is first correctly applied to the clergy who declined to accept the *Fourth* or *Great Act of Uniformity*, 1662; it is later extended to the laity who joined their pastors in the secession; and is nowadays the correct designation for all Englishmen who do not belong to the Church of England—whether *Protestants* (Dissenters and Unitarians), *Roman Catholics*, or *non-Christians* (vol. III., ch. viii., § 4).

Elizabeth's days while the moderate men of each party stood by the Church, the extremer men parted from it—the Papists being called *Recusants* because they refused to go to Church, and the ultra-Puritans *Separatists* (§ 6).

The nature and the growth of party feeling amongst those who had hostility to Rome in common could hardly be traced more clearly than it is traced by Francis Bacon in his *Advertisement touching the controversies of the Church of England* (written in 1589).

Developments of Puritanism.

(*a*) NATURE OF THE CONTROVERSIES. "They are not touching the high mysteries of the faith . . . neither are they concerning the great parts of the worship of God of which it is true that '*non servatur unitas in credendo, nisi eadem est in colendo*,'* such as were the controversies of the East and West Churches touching images, and such as are many of those between the Church of Rome and us as about the adoration of the Sacrament and the like. But we contend about ceremonies and things indifferent, about the external policy of government of the Church."

Trivial Nature of the Issues.

(*b*) PURITAN PARTY. "On their part who call for reformation, was first propounded some dislike of certain ceremonies supposed to be superstitious; some complaint of dumb ministers who possess rich benefices; and some invectives against the idle and monastical continuance within the Universities by those who had livings to be resided upon, and such like abuses. Thence they went on to condemn the government of bishops as a hierarchy remaining to us of the corruptions of the Roman Church, and to except to sundry institutions as not sufficiently delivered from the pollution of former times. And lastly they advanced to define of an only and perpetual policy in the Church, which, without consideration of possibility or foresight of peril or perturbation of the Church and State, must be erected and planted by the magistrate. Here they stay. Others, not able to keep footing in so steep a ground, descend further. That the same must be entered into and accepted of the people at their peril, without the attending of the establishment of authority; and so in the meantime they refuse to communicate with us as reputing us to have no Church."

Ceremonies, etc.

Bishops.

Jure-divino Church-government.

(*c*) ANTI-PURITAN PARTY. "The other part which maintaineth the present government of the Church hath not kept one tenor neither. First those ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt they maintained to be things indifferent," and so on till "exasperate through contentions, they are fallen into a direct condemnation of the contrary part as of a sect. Yea, and some indiscreet persons have been bold in open preaching to use dishonourable and derogative speech and censure of the [Reformed]

Estrangement of the Anglican Established Church from the Continental Reformed Churches.

* "Unity of belief cannot be preserved without unity in ritual."

Churches abroad; and that so far as some of our men (as I have heard) ordained in foreign parts have been pronounced to be no lawful ministers."

(*d*) FACTIOUS SPIRIT. "Thus we see the beginnings were modest but the extremes are violent; so as there is almost as great a distance now of either side from itself as was at first from one to the other." *

§ 6. Several points in this extract are worth re-stating and illustrating. In the first place, Bacon, like most of his contemporaries, whether friends or foes, regarded the Church of England as Protestant—however Catholic her forms of worship and formularies of faith might be. It was indeed only human nature that when one side was making a religion of serving the Pope, the other side should make a religion of anti-Popery. When Rome, after the Tridentine Reformation, professed to be just the same as ever, her opponents, with equal perversity, went out of their way to adopt different views and practices wherever possible. England found herself in the camp opposed to Rome: consequently, though the Church of England has never officially labelled itself "Protestant," its members during Elizabeth's reign were Protestant in spirit.

Protestantism in the Church of England.

Secondly, those who rejected the authority of the Pope and of the Council of Trent which had settled things in his favour, divided into two distinct parties: these remained, during Elizabeth's reign at least, fairly harmonious in their theology —which was in the main that of Calvin,—but fell apart first on the question of Church-worship, then on that of Church-government. The Elizabethan ritual was attacked in the points already numerated (§ 4, p. 236) as being "Popish": the Elizabethan Church-government was attacked not so much because of any intrinsic demerits—for Luther, Melancthon, and Calvin alike preferred episcopal government to any other variety,—as because it was being worked in a way they disliked. So, too, we have seen Knox attacking the principle of female sovereignty because, for a moment before the accession of Elizabeth, such sovereignty happened, in no less than three cases, to be injurious to his party (ch. vi., § 11).

Alternatives to Episcopacy: 1. Presbyterianism.

* Ellis and Spedding's *Bacon*, vol. viii., pp. 75, 86-7 [quoted by Mr. Child in *Church and State under the Tudors*]. The paper is reprinted in full by Mr. Arber in his *Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy* (3s.).

Two alternatives were found to the Elizabethan system of government by bishops working under the Supremacy of the Crown: each of these two had its innings during the Puritan Revolution next century (1640-60), under the names of *Presbyterianism* and *Congregationalism*. The former of these was advocated in Dr. Thomas Cartwright's *Admonition to Parliament*, a book which appeared in 1572, and whose ostensible object was to scold Parliament for not succeeding in carrying the Puritan measures introduced in the session of 1571 (§ 4). Cartwright had been Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity at Cambridge—then, as in the twenties of the century (ch. iv., § 2), the home of "advanced" opinions, as Oxford of conservatism. His main theses were (*a*) the independence of the Church in spiritual matters from the control of the civil government, and (*b*) the Divine appointment of the government of the Church not by a hierarchy of individuals but by a hierarchy of assemblies. In 1580 he actually began to set up some such system alongside the constitutional authorities of the Church, in the hope that, when the latter human makeshifts were abolished, the former Divine plan would be ready to take their place: in modern political slang, he tried to run the Church machine by a Presbyterian caucus. Neither then nor at any future time, however, did the Presbyterian scheme take deep root in England as it did in Scotland* (1592, 1690).

2. Separatism.

The name "Congregationalism" is of a post-Elizabethan mintage, but the thing was existent in her reign. The theory of it is that any universal or national organisation of religion with a fixed creed, ritual and government is in principle and practice alike a mistake; let those who find that they have any religious sympathies one with another form voluntary congregations as they will; let each congregation be esteemed in itself a Church (hence the later name); and let these congregations

* Cartwright's system was comparatively simple: answering to the priest in the parish, there was a consistory of elders headed by the minister; to the bishop in the diocese, there was a *classis* or conference of representative members of the consistories in a district (cf. the phrase "classic hierarchy" in Milton's verses *On the New Forcers of Conscience*); to Convocation (only quite free from Parliamentary or Royal control), a National Assembly of chosen ministers and laymen. A more elaborate system is described in the third volume of this History, ch. v., p. 118 *n.*

federate if they willed; but religion itself is essentially a personal matter between the individual and God and ought to be treated as such. In the days of Elizabeth, however, the political need of organic union seemed to be too imperative to let these views become popular or to let the Government tolerate them. So early as June 1567 some hundred such "*Separatists*" were seized while holding a service after their kind in Plummer's Hall, London, and fifteen of them were sent to prison. At times the gaols were crammed with similar offenders; and in 1593 attendance at a "conventicle" was expressly made punishable by imprisonment, exile, or even a felon's death. In the same year three Cambridge men, Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry—the three great martyrs of Congregationalism whose tercentenary was celebrated in April 1893—were put to death after some years of confinement varied by torture. They were believed to be part authors of the *Martin Marprelate Tracts*, which during the years 1588-92 had been asserting the "rights" of the individual conscience under the guise of denunciations—sometimes scurrilous, sometimes trivial, sometimes well-founded—on the personal misconduct of the bishops or the essential evils of the episcopal system. By the end of the reign these *Brownists* or *Barrowists*, as they were contemptuously named, had been for the most part driven to take refuge in Holland. Thence in 1620 some of them—the famous "Pilgrim Fathers"—migrated to America, and there established in the wilderness churches which had the distinctive note of being democratic or self-governed, and of having their spiritual character unhampered by political control, and which exercised a vast influence over their brethren in England—the "*Independents*" who played so great a part in the Puritan Revolution.*

* The chief first-hand authorities are the *Discourse of the Troubles at Frankfurt* (between Knox and Cox) and *Martin Marprelate* (see Mr. Arber's Catalogue). The development of Puritanism is traced in a clear and sympathetic manner in Green's *Short History*, ch. viii., § 1; at somewhat greater length in Mr. Wakeman's *The Church and the Puritans* (from a moderate Anglican point of view); and in Messrs. Skeats and Miall's *History of the Free Churches of England* (from the Congregationalist point of view). For the contrast between early and later Puritanism—it is above all things to be remembered that the Puritans, at first a *party* within the Anglican Church, gradually came to split into numerous sects outside that Church—the account in the text may be compared with the account in the third volume of this History (Intro., § 11; ch. iv., § 7; ch. v., § 10; ch. viii., § 4).

§ 7. The political philosophers of ancient Greece frequently raised the question whether the ultimate political authority in the State ought to reside in a Person (or Persons) or in the Law: the Law might be unchanging and certain, but who was to interpret it? the Person or Persons could decide each question as it arose, but how could a constant succession of all-wise Persons be guaranteed? Similarly these religious parties sought for some final authority in the Church—or rather, sought to know by what channel God, as the recognised authority, made his will known to men. Was it, as the Catholics said, by the living Church; or was it, as the Protestants said, by the written Bible? If it was the Church, who constituted the Church? If it was the Bible, who was to find out its teaching on the case in point?

The Seat of Authority in Religion.

These broad issues take different shapes in different ages: we are concerned with the shape that they took in the latter part of the sixteenth century. On the part of the Roman Catholics, there was a tendency to find the voice of the Church in the Pope, though his doctrinal infallibility was not recognised as an article of faith till 1871. Protestants, on the other hand, regarded the Bible not merely as a collection of sacred books which it was customary to bind up together, but as, *sans phrase*, "the Word of God," and on the part of Protestants in Western Europe there was a tendency to regard John Calvin as the soundest expositor of the Bible: Geneva seemed to many what Knox called it—"the most perfect school of Christ that ever was on earth since the days of the Apostles." To Pope Gregory, on the other hand, Geneva seemed rather "a nest of devils and apostates": to which sentiment Geneva cordially responded by habitually speaking of the Pope as "Anti-Christ" (cf. ch. x., § 16).

Rome and Geneva.

Elizabeth,—whatever her personal leanings, whatever pressure might be put upon her,—would not commit herself to any one party: she did not wish her Church to be sectarian any more than she wished her State to be administered in the interest of a party. As a matter of fact her personal will was the final authority in Church as in State, but she was careful not

Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.*

to give more offence than she could help in the exercise of that authority, and above all things she forbore to do as the Stuarts did after her—transpose the *fact* into a *dogma*. She allowed both parties their say, so long as they recognised her Supremacy. Thus when Richard Hooker was Master of the Temple, preaching on Sunday mornings, and Walter Travers was evening lecturer, it was commonly said that "*the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury, the afternoon Geneva.*"

It was this same Hooker who, in his book on *Ecclesiastical Polity*, which began to appear in 1594, unofficially defined the Anglican theory of authority: ecclesiologically, it was the King acting with the advice of his bishops and clergy in Convocation, and of his laity in Parliament, assembled; theologically, it was the Bible interpreted by reason and tradition conjoined. This coupling of reason and tradition was designed to preserve unity in the present from the disintegrating tendencies of Puritanism, to maintain continuity, by keeping in touch with the past, and to keep the way open for progress in the future.

The Conflict between the Spiritual and the Temporal Powers.

§ 8. The Extremists on either side had at least one important principle in common—the superiority of the Spiritual to the Temporal Power. Papist and ultra-Puritan alike repudiated the Royal Supremacy, and affirmed that the Queen could be excommunicated or excluded from Church-membership, just like any other person. Two lines of defence were taken up against these contentions—one theoretical, the other practical. The theoretical line of defence was suggested by the theoretical line of attack. The various forms of Church-government which it was proposed to substitute for that adopted in England (§ 6) each claimed to be divinely appointed, whereas the English Episcopate was merely one of expediency. To meet this Bishop Bancroft, in a sermon preached in February 1588, revived the theory that the bishops, so far from being simply the instruments of the lay power, really ruled by divine commission (cf. Intro., § 25) under the guidance of an anointed King. This was the beginning, on the new basis of a double Divine Right, of the alliance between Kingship and Episcopate which caused so much political and ecclesiastical turmoil in the seventeenth

century, and finally broke down, exactly one hundred years after Bancroft's sermon, with the quarrel between James II. and the Seven Bishops in 1688.

The Repression of Debate.

The practical line of defence was the attempt to hush the voices of opposition. Elizabeth had the skilled administrator's disbelief in the utility of irresponsible criticism: her task of building up the tower of English independence could not, she felt, be performed if her workmen, instead of doing as they were bidden, fell into a babel of tongues. Therefore, just as she told the Parliament of 1566 that she preferred the counsels of a few wise men to those of a set of hare-brained politicians, so she increased the restrictions that at an early date were placed by Government on printing and bookselling (ch. xi., § 3), and so, too, she insisted that the grounds of religious faith should be accepted not discussed. In 1577 she sequestered Grindal, her second Archbishop, for refusing to limit the parish-priests' choice of sermons to the authorised *Books of Homilies*, and to put an end to the practice of *Prophesyings* —a kind of public diocesan debate on Scriptural texts which Grindal considered "a very profitable exercise" for clerical novices. Like her grandfather (ch. i., § 11), she saw no good in the discussion of deep questions to which there was no God-given solution, and whose discussion set men by the ears; and in the verses from which we have already cited (ch. vii., § 18; ch. viii., § 3), she expressed her resolution that—

"The daughter of debate, which eke discord doth sow, [grow."
Shall reap no gain where former rule hath taught still peace to

Policy of Non-Committal, 1570-80.

§ 9. Elizabeth's attitude towards both groups of refractory religionists was shaped by political expediency. She probably preferred the essentially submissive tone of Catholicism to the essentially self-assertive spirit of Puritanism, but seeing clearly the necessity of presenting an undivided front to her foes, she tried to rally both around her. Quite in harmony with her religious attitude at home was her politico-religious position abroad: she would identify herself with neither of the parties into which the States of the West were divided. Down to about 1583 she was constantly shifting her position, with the notion of keeping the various States and parties

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so balanced that she at least would be safe. Throughout she followed this plan in the teeth of the opposition of Cecil—whom she created Lord Burghley in February 1571—and Walsingham. They wanted her to constitute herself the Champion of Protestantism, and work hand in glove with Scottish, Dutch, and French Protestants. She, like the other statesmen with whom she had most to do—Katharine de' Medici and William of Orange—preferred to act from a political base, because then she could count on having the nation solid at her back. In the phrase of the day they were *Politiques*: their working religion was patriotism.

1. Scotland, 1570-73.

In Scotland, for instance, which, according to Burghley, she might have made her lasting friend by siding definitely with the King's party after the death of Moray, she intrigued on behalf of Mary until the forays into England of members of the Queen's party, under Westmorland (ch. vii., § 18), forced her to help the Earl of Lennox, Darnley's father and Moray's successor. In her alarm at the Ridolfi Plot (§ 11), she talked of handing over Mary for trial to the Earl of Mar, who was raised to the regency in consequence of Lennox's death in September 1571, in a skirmish with the Queen's party. But she could not bring herself to promise to give open countenance to Mary's execution, and the project fell through. It was only after the Massacre of S. Bartholomew's (§ 10), that she finally helped the Earl of Morton, who had succeeded Mar as Regent in October 1572, to crush the Queen's party by sending English troops, under Drury, to join in the siege of Edinburgh Castle. Soon after its fall, on May 27, 1573, the chiefs of that party, Maitland of Lethington and Kirkaldy of Grange, closed their career, the one through grief, the other by the axe.

2. France: Marriage Projects.

§ 10. Elizabeth was slow to interfere in Scotland, because she did not wish to give France a fresh occasion to interfere; and when she did eventually send her troops to Edinburgh, it was under the sanction of the defensive *Treaty of Blois*, April 1572, between England and France. Soon after the restoration of something like internal quiet, by the collapse of the Guises and the signature of the religious *Peace of S. Germain*, August 1570,

negotiations were set on foot for the marriage of Elizabeth to Henry, Duke of Anjou, Charles IX.'s brother. Though the match would have implied an alliance of England, France and the revolted Netherlands against Spain, it was far from popular in this country; and the Queen herself made the difference of religion an insuperable objection to an aggressive alliance, which would certainly be more expensive than her diplomatic methods, and might be less successful in keeping war outside the gates of England. When the complicity of Spain in the Ridolfi Plot was found out, there was some talk of a close alliance between France and England against Spain, to be cemented by a marriage with Anjou's younger brother Francis, Duke of Alençon—a project with which Elizabeth toyed so seriously and so long that she has been thought to have really loved the man (§ 12 *fin.*; ch. ix., 3).

"The Paris Matins," August 24, 1572.

At the time when this match was first proposed there seemed some likelihood of a genuine co-operation between the two countries on the basis of a partition of the Netherlands: some of the eastern provinces were to go to neighbouring German princes; Flanders and Artois were to be once more incorporated with France (cf. ch. ii., §§ 10, 12); while Holland and Zeeland were to be England's reward (cf. ch. i., § 10). Charles IX. was eager for war with Spain: he was falling more and more under the influence of the noblest Frenchman of the day—Admiral Coligny, the head of the Huguenot party. But Elizabeth had, if anything, rather less desire to see the Netherlands under French control than to see them either conquered by Spain or in possession of their independence. Accordingly she was growing cool, and edging towards Spain, even before the Massacre of S. Bartholomew's, August 24, 1572, produced a complete breach for the time, and a lack of cordiality for some years, between the French and English Courts. That massacre, which began in Paris when the leading Huguenots were assembled in honour of the marriage of Henry of Navarre to Margaret of Valois (Table, p. 85), was probably the outcome of Katharine de' Medici's jealousy of Coligny's influence over her son. Some three or four thousand Huguenots seem to

have perished, and with their death the possibility of France ever becoming a Protestant country finally vanished. France was only politically a Protestant Power.

3. Spain.

§ 11. The real pivot on which Elizabeth's foreign policy turned at this time, was the possibility of Spain taking up Mary's cause in earnest, if she took up in earnest the cause of the enemies of Spain. Philip and Elizabeth were each delighted to see the other up to the eyes in business, and to give each other, underhand, a little more work to do. Philip, however, would not come over to help the Marian party till it had given proof of its strength by removing Elizabeth—somewhat in the same way as Louis XIV. refused to invade England on behalf of later Stuart exile, until William III. was cleared away (vol. III., ch. xii.). Philip had already shown his disinclination, despite heavy provocation (ch. vii., § 16), to quarrel outright with Elizabeth by refusing to permit the Papal Bull against her to be published within his dominions. France had done the same. Pius V. was annoyed with their worldly indifference, and turned to the English Romanists.

The Ridolfi Plot, 1571-72.

During 1571 a fresh plot was organised to promote the marriage of Mary with Norfolk and set them on the throne—this time without any reservation in favour of Elizabeth's present rights (see ch. vii., § 18). Leslie, Bishop of Ross, was the chief conspirator in England, but the plot takes its name from Robert Ridolfi, a Florentine banker, resident in England, who used his position as a financial agent of the English Queen's to compass her destruction. Having obtained Norfolk's assent and promise to declare himself a Roman Catholic, Ridolfi crossed to Brussels to secure Alva's assistance. Alva promised 10,000 men, provided Elizabeth should first be removed. Pope Pius was ready to sell the very chalices from his churches for so worthy an object. Philip gave his cordial adhesion to the design. But a bundle of Ridolfi's letters from Brussels, though in cipher, had revealed to Burghley that something was astir; and the full details were found out in September 1571, through the seizure of a letter from Norfolk and the torture of his secretaries. Several leaders were arrested—including Norfolk, his

brother-in-law the Earl of Arundel, and the Earl of Southampton; and Norfolk was, after some delay, beheaded, June 2, 1572. Though forty out of the existing sixty-seven lay peers were, according to Ridolfi, hostile to Elizabeth, Norfolk was the first nobleman to suffer on the scaffold for conspiracy during her reign.

Elizabeth's Fourth Parliament, 1572, and Mary Queen of Scots.

Elizabeth's fourth Parliament, in its first session (May 8—June 30, 1572), was eager to punish Norfolk's intended spouse also, either by attainder or by formal exclusion from the succession. But Elizabeth would not listen to the Commons' prayer: that "It standeth not only with justice, but also with the Queen's Majesty's honour and safety to proceed criminally against the pretended Scottish Queen." Such a demonstration of feeling in Parliament against Mary was meant to show outside busybodies the futility of any great expectations of Englishmen's support of a Marian movement, just as the publication, by Elizabeth's leave, of the *Casket Letters* in Buchanan's *Detection*, 1571, was meant to discourage zeal for Mary by setting forth her unworthiness. So successful were these tactics of discrediting Mary's character and disproving her popularity, conjoined with the forcible suppression of her party in Scotland (§ 9), that for ten years Mary was a mere cipher in politics, and was allowed the freedom of a guest at Lord Shrewsbury's, rather than the restraint of a dangerous prisoner (ch. ix., §§ 4, 7).

4. The Netherlands, 1572-79.

§ 12. The participation of Spain in the Ridolfi Plot led to an open rupture between England and Spain as sudden and as shortlived as the rupture with France after S. Bartholomew's. Though Drake and many another rover were through these years harrying the Spanish main, and Spanish ships and islands in the adjoining seas (ch. ix., §§ 1, 2; ch. x., § 15; ch. xi., § 13), it was only very gradually that Elizabeth drifted into the open hostility with Spain which culminates, though it does not conclude, in the defeat of the Armada in 1588. That drifting is best seen by following the Netherlands struggle.*

Early in 1572, Elizabeth did Spain what was meant to be

* The best account of this struggle is in Motley's works—*The Rise of the Dutch Republic*—down to the assassination of William the Silent in 1584 (ch. ix., § 3)—and *The History of the United Netherlands*.

a service by refusing the shelter of her harbours to William de la Marck, a Dutch *Sea-Beggar*. This act proved, unintentionally, the beginning of better things for the Netherlands. De la Marck's little fleet of twenty-four vessels was strong enough to seize and occupy the town of Brill, at the mouth of the Maas; and this place soon formed a centre for the disaffected of the southern provinces to rally around. There Alva had stamped out heresy, but had ruined trade by a heavy taxation.

End of Alva's Governorship, 1572-73.

Alva sent in his resignation in 1573, and was succeeded as governor by Requescens, whose governorship was marked by the famous seven months' siege of Leyden. With him Elizabeth was on most friendly terms, partly because his conciliatory spirit induced her to hope that Spanish troops would be withdrawn from the Netherlands, and so from a too close proximity to herself, partly because her old admirer Henry of Anjou (ch. vii., § 16), who in May 1574 succeeded to the French throne as Henry III., seemed inclined to take up Mary's cause. She therefore declined, in 1575, the proffered sovereignty of Holland and Zeeland, offering her mediation instead.

Requescens' Governorship, 1573-76.

On the death of Requescens, early in 1576, a mutiny of the Spanish soldiery for pay, and the consequent brutal attack on Antwerp known as the "*Spanish Fury*," drove the commercial malcontents of the southern provinces into the arms of the religious malcontents of the northern provinces—a coalition formulated in the *Pacification of Ghent*, November 1576. Requescens' successor, Don John of Austria (ch. vii., § 18), had just annihilated the Turkish Corsairs, as an organised force, in the great naval victory of Lepanto (1571); but he failed in the Netherlands, partly because he attempted too much (*e.g.*, he intrigued to marry Mary), partly through the jealousy of his half-brother Philip.

Governorship of Don John of Austria, 1577-78.

At the end of 1578 Philip II.'s nephew, Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, succeeded to the Governorship, which he held till his death in December 1592. His great talents, both as a statesman and as a general, made him a very formidable neighbour to Elizabeth. His first achievement was to divide his opponents. The

Parma becomes Governor, 1578.

impossibility, in the face of the bigotry of both religious sects, to maintain a "religious-peace," combined with the jealousy of the Catholic nobles of the South, lest they should be placed in secondary position, gave Parma his opportunity. Hence he was able to win over the ten southern Flemish or Walloon provinces, which, now that their Protestant proclivities had been suppressed, differed in religion as well as in race from their Dutch partners in the *Pacification of Ghent*.

Renewal of the French Marriage-Project, 1579.

During 1579 the remaining seven provinces of the North, which were and are Dutch-speaking and Calvinistic (Intro., §§ 10, 27), were formed by William of Orange into a separate confederacy by the *Union of Utrecht*. These provinces—Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Overyssel, Friesland, and Groningen—now began to definitely strike for independence of Spain: hitherto they had simply demanded the withdrawal of the Spanish soldiery, the restoration of their old constitutions, and religious freedom. Finding themselves unable to stand alone, they had called in Francis, Duke of Alençon-Anjou (who, previous to his brother Henry's accession to the French throne, had been known as Duke of Alençon); and Elizabeth, in alarm lest they should fall into French hands without any guarantee for the friendship of France, not only supplied the Netherlanders with a body of German mercenaries, and with a loan of £100,000, but also renewed her negotiations for marrying that prince (§ 10). She petted her pock-marked, blotchy "*Frog*" in an extravagant fashion during his long courtship, and in November 1579 even signed the marriage-treaty. The marriage was misliked in England, and a pamphlet against it, called *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf, wherein England is like to be swallowed up by another French Marriage*, had a wide circulation. Thomas Stubbe, a brother-in-law of Dr. Cartwright (§ 6, p. 239), left the scaffold, where his right hand was chopped off for writing it, waving his hat in his left hand and shouting, "God save the Queen!" Which is as much as to say that though her subjects might try to turn Elizabeth to other ways, they were not likely to turn against her, if it came to a pinch.

§ 13. In the same year as Stubbe's pamphlet there appeared a book by Thomas Churchyard, with the significant title *The Miserie of Flaunders, Calamitie of France, Misfortune of Portugal, Unquietness of Ireland, Troubles of Scotland, and Blessed State of England.* Determined efforts to put an end to this exceptional "blessed state of England" were, however, just about to be made—the first by the Pope, the second by Spain. It will be more convenient to defer till another chapter the latter attempt, together with the Netherlandish and other international complications out of which it partly grew (ch. ix., §§ 1-6): the Papal attack, which began to break on the island in 1579, was in reality nothing but an endeavour to carry out the Deposition of Elizabeth threatened in 1570 (§ 1) by means of domestic malcontents, and so connects itself rather with the constitutional history.

"The Blessed State of England," 1579.

There had been two main agencies whereby many English Catholics were induced to remain faithful to Rome long after the Church to which they belonged had cut the connection. These were the "old priests" who had been ejected for disregard of the legislation of 1559 (ch. vii., §§ 4-6), and the new seminary priests who about 1576 began to pour into England from the English College which Dr. William Allen, sometime principal of S. Mary Hall, Oxford, had founded in 1568 at Douay, for the express purpose of training priests to serve as Roman missionaries in England. In 1579 he went to Rome, to concert measures for the reconversion of Britain to the Holy See with Gregory XIII., the enthusiast who had become Pope in the year of S. Bartholomew's.

Roman Catholic Missionaries.

The Papal attack was no mere isolated effort, but part of a general movement. This solidarity of Catholicism is the characteristic feature of the close of the sixteenth century.* The Reformation made for division and disintegration: the Counter-Reformation, begun at Trent, was emphatically one and indivisible. The reason was simply that it was directed and guided throughout by a body of men such as has

The Jesuits and the Roman Catholic Reaction.

* Macaulay has worked out this idea in his short and suggestive essay on *Ranke's History of the Popes* – the essay which introduces "Macaulay's New Zealander." See too Principal Ward's *Counter-Reformation* in Longmans' "Epochs of Church History" Series.

always sprung up to save Rome in the day of Rome's danger. This was the *Society of Jesus*, which was started in a very humble way by Ignatius Loyola and a few other Spaniards in 1534, and which, after some delay, received the sanction of Pope Paul III. in 1540. It was a militant, not a contemplative order; its strength was its unswerving obedience to its general; its weapon was its system of education; its passion, unquestioning loyalty to the Pope.

§ 14. The Jesuits spread everywhere. They were the soul of the French Catholic League (ch. ix., §§ 5, 12), as they were of the Inquisition in Spain and Italy. They won back to the Roman Church the South German peoples, and stamped all heresy out of Italy. They made a desperate attack on the British Isles about 1579-80. In Scotland their agent was Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny, cousin of Lord Darnley. He landed in Scotland in 1579, regained his inheritance and the title of Earl of Lennox, and, in June 1581, got rid of his most dangerous opponent Morton, who was executed on the charge of participation in Darnley's death. He was now in high hopes of restoring Roman Catholicism, not only in Scotland, but in England as well. His plans were, however, partly suspected, and the enthusiasm with which the *First National Covenant* (cf. ch. vii., § 7 *n.*) was signed in 1581, for the defence of Presbyterianism, showed how hopeless it was to expect any general Scottish support. By the "Raid of Ruthven," August 1582, he lost command of the person of the King, over whom he and his Jesuit partners had acquired great influence, and thought it wise to return to France.

"The Jesuit Invasion," 1579-83: 1. Scotland.

In Ireland the efforts of the Jesuits fostered a disturbance for a time (ch. x., §§ 15, 16), and strengthened that devotion to the Pope which is the characteristic of the Irish Roman Catholic of to-day (ch. x., § 11).

2. Ireland.

In England the Jesuits Edmund Campion and Robert Parsons—both Oxford men—landed in the summer of 1580, and went about the country almost openly exhorting men to stand fast in the obedience of Rome. They had the further mission to impress upon the Roman Catholics the duty of dissembling their disloyalty to the Queen, until the time came to strike, and so to prevent

3. England.

them drifting back, *viâ* conformity, into Anglicanism. In the latter object they succeeded: in the former they failed. The spectacle of the religious wars abroad was not alluring; and in the hour of need, despite the increasing pressure of anti-Romanist legislation (ch. vii., § 10; ch. viii., §§ 1-3, 15; ch. ix., § 7), the English Roman Catholics rallied round the Queen, who had so manifestly adopted the ecclesiastical policy which they disapproved not in a spirit of sectarianism, but in the cause of national independence.

§ 15. The knowledge of the new artful gloss on the Bull of Deposition could not but make the English Government more severe in the repression of Roman Catholicism. It was assumed quite naturally, but quite untruly, that all English Romanists held the views of some of their professed leaders as to the righteousness of using the tools of rebellion, foreign invasion, and assassination against "a heretic." Therefore, not only were the leaders punished—*e.g.*, Cuthbert Mayne, a seminary priest, was executed in November 1577 *on the suspicion* of having denied the Queen's Supremacy and of having celebrated Mass, and Campion was in December 1581 hanged at Tyburn, under the old *Treasons-Statute* of 1352,—but also fresh measures were devised against the rank and file. Thus Elizabeth's fourth Parliament, during its third session in the spring of 1581, passed an Act which re-enacted many of the provisions against reconciliation with Rome embodied in the former Act of 1563 "for retaining the Queen's Majesty's subjects in their due obedience" (ch. vii., § 10), and adding

Fourth Parliament, Session iii., 1581.

(i.) That hearing Mass be punished by a fine of 100 marks and a year's imprisonment; and saying Mass by a fine of 200 marks and a year's imprisonment.

(ii.) That all persons above sixteen years of age be liable to a fine of £20 per month for absence from church.

(iii.) That all schoolmasters be required to obtain a licence from the Ordinary or suffer a year's imprisonment: and that all persons employing unlicensed teachers be liable to a fine of £10 per month.

This Act, which had exclusive reference, it will be observed, to men's personal feelings and actions with regard to their own religious worship and to the education of their children, was supplemented in the following Parliament, 1584-85, by an Act

Fifth Parliament, Nov. 23, 1584–March 29, 1585.

which was aimed more directly against the travelling priests who were, not always unjustly, regarded as sowers of sedition. The air was thick with perils at home and abroad (ch. ix., §§ 3, 4); and this fact seemed to justify the "Act against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other such like disobedient persons":—

(i.) *All Roman Catholic priests ordered to quit the kingdom* within forty days under penalty of high treason:

(ii.) *Aiding or receiving of Roman Catholic priests* punishable as felony: concealment of knowledge of the whereabouts of such an one, punishable by imprisonment during the Queen's pleasure.

(iii.) *Prevention of Roman Catholic Education*: (1) students at Romanist seminaries ordered to return within six months and take the Oath of Supremacy; (2) persons sending children abroad to such places to be fined £100, and to incur penalty of *praemunire* if they sent money to anyone already at a seminary; (3) children thus educated disabled from inheriting property.

§ 16. The time of the Jesuit Invasion was marked by measures of an administrative, as well as by these of a legislative, character, to strengthen the hands of the Government, especially on its ecclesiastical side. The promulgation of opinions held to be seditious or heretical, was struck at not only by the comprehensive *Libel Act of* 1581, but by the issue of the Privy Council's systematised *Press Ordinances* in 1585—with special severity towards the possession or publication of Romanist writings (ch. xi., § 3).

Regulation of the Press, 1581-85.

Similarly disobedience in deed to the ecclesiastical settlement—especially on the part of Puritans—received a heavy blow, when in September 1583, John Whitgift, "the Protestant Inquisitor," became Archbishop of Canterbury, and when, in December 1583, "the Protestant Inquisition" was placed on a permanent footing by the erection of the Court of High Commission, under the terms of the *Act of Supremacy* (ch. vii., § 4), as a kind of ecclesiastical Privy Council.

Court of High Commission, 1583.

(i.) *Composition*: 44 in all, of whom 12 were bishops, and the rest were part laymen, part divines. Three constituted a quorum; of these *one* must be a bishop.

(ii.) *Method of Inquiry*: "as well by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, as by witnesses, and *by all other means they could devise*"

[which did not include physical torture, but did include the searching series of ecclesiastical interrogatories, known as the "Oath *ex officio*."]

(iii.) *Subjects of Inquiry*: all offences against ecclesiastical and social order:—

(1) Infractions of the *Acts of Supremacy* and *Uniformity*, 1559;
(2) Dissemination, in books, words or writing, of slanderous, seditious, schismatical or heretical opinions.
(3) Fornication, Incest, Adultery, and other immoralities.

(iv.) *Powers of Punishment*: deprival (in the case of clergy asserting doctrines contrary to the *Thirty-nine Articles*); excommunication; fine; and imprisonment. [But not death.]

Archbishop Whitgift, 1583–1604.

In other words, the powers involved in the Royal Supremacy were, for ordinary purposes, delegated not to a single person, as in 1535 (ch. iii., § 14) or to occasional roving commissioners as has been the custom since Cromwell's death,* but to a constant central corporate body. Such a body, combining administrative and judicial functions as it did, was well adapted to secure that continuity and uniformity of policy which were so dear to Elizabeth—especially when its leading spirit was a man of Whitgift's calibre. Whitgift, like his predecessor Grindal (§ 8), was a strong Calvinist,—witness his attempt, frustrated by the Queen's direct interposition alone, to commit the Church to the acceptance of the Calvinistic doctrine on Predestination, etc., in the nine *Lambeth Articles* of 1595: unlike Grindal, he was a rigid disciplinarian, and would permit no outward divergence from the Church-system which years ago he had vindicated in an answer to Cartwright's *Admonition* (§ 6). By silencing the Presbyterian party and driving the Separatists off to Holland, he preserved intact the structure of the Anglican Church; but the spirit of Puritanism still lived within that structure and sought to master it. His enemies commonly spoke of him as "John of Cant."

* Examples will be found in ch. v., § 4 (1547), ch. vi., § 5 (1554), ch. vii., § 6 (1559).

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Landmarks in Elizabeth's Ecclesiastical Legislation.

N.B.—*The first column is mainly* **anti-Papal**; *the second mainly* **anti-Puritan.**

1559. 1 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT I.; Jan. 25—May 8]. **Parker** becomes Archbishop.

(*a*) **[2nd] Act of Supremacy** (c. 1): external and internal aspects.

(*b*) **[3rd] Act of Uniformity** (c. 2): in Common Prayer, Services, and Sacraments.

(*c*) *Act for the Restitution of First-fruits to the Crown* (c. 4).

(*d*) *Act authorising Queen to acquire lands from bishoprics, in exchange for impropriated tithes* (c. 19).

(*e*) *Act empowering Queen to make ordinances for collegiate churches and schools* (c. 22).

Royal Visitation: removal of images, etc.; permission of clerical marriage.

1563. 5 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT II., Sess. i.; Jan. 12—April 10].

Retrospective Test Act (c. 1): "for the assurance of the Queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions."

Convocation (strongly Protestant) revises the **XLII. Articles of 1552.**

1566. 8 & 9 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT II., Session ii.; Sept. 30—Dec. 30]: Bishops' Confirmation Act (c. 1).

1565. Parker's "**Advertisements.**"

1567 (June). Suppression of the Plummers' Hall Conventicle.

1570. May 15. **PIUS V.'S BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION AND DEPOSITION.**

1571. 13 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT III.; April 2—May 29].

(*a*) **Queen's Title and Succession Treasons Act** (c. 1).

(*b*) **Act against Romish Priesthood, etc.** (c. 2): Reconciliation with Rome, *treason*; to import Bulls, etc., *præm.*

Parliamentary Ratification of the **XXXIX. Articles** (c. 12): "for the Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion." Puritans oppose many articles; Strickland's Bill to reform *Prayer-Book.*

1572. 14 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT IV., Sess. i.; May 8—June 30]. No Ecclesiastical Bills against "Popery": hence Cartwright's } *ADMONITION TO PARLIAMENT.*

1576. 18 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT IV., Sess. ii.; Feb. 8—March 15]. No Ecclesiastical Bills.

Grindal, Archbp.: in 1577 sequestered for refusing to put down "**Prophesyings.**"

1580. THE JESUIT INVASION OF BRITAIN & IRELAND. Petition against Bishops.

1581. 23 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT IV., Sess. iii.; Jan. 16—March 18].

Act against Reconciliation with Rome (c. 1); hearing (fine 100 marks), or saying (200 marks) Mass, even in private houses; *Recusancy* (£20 per month); unlicensed *Libel Act* (c. 2): aimed against both Seminarist and Puritan writings. [schoolmasters.

Dec. 1. Execution of Edmund Campion.

1583 (Dec.). **High Court of Ecclesiastical Commission** established: 44 members, clerical and lay; powers to inquire into heresy, schism, absence from church, slander, incests, adulteries, etc.; examination of suspects on oath. **Whitgift,** Archbp.

1584-5. 27 & 28 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT V.; Nov. 23—March 29].

Association Act (c. 1): "for the security of the Queen's Royal Person and the continuance of the Realm in peace."

Act against Jesuits and Seminary Priests: to quit Realm within 30 days under pain of felony; no children to be educated in foreign seminaries (c. 2).

Petition against Church abuses, especially episcopal violation of the Common Law.

1585. Press Regulations issued by Star Chamber: (*a*) Monoply; (*b*) Censorship.

1586. 28 & 29 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT VI.; Oct. 15—Oct. 29].

Discipline Act: Enforcement of Church-going (c. 6).

1588. DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA.

1589. 31 Eliz. [PARL. VII.; Feb. 4—March 29]. No ecclesiastical Acts: Mr. Cope's Bill and Book.

MARTIN MARPRELATE TRACTS: Execution of Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry, 1593.

1592. ABOLITION OF EPISCOPACY IN THE SCOTTISH CHURCH.

1593. 35 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT VIII.; Feb. 19—April 10].

Anti-Romanist Act (c. 1): re-enactment of 27 & 28 Eliz., c. 2, and 28 & 29 Eliz., c. 6.

Church-going enforced on all above 16 years of age: conformity, gaol, exile, or felon's death. *Anti-Separatist Act* (c. 2).

Mr. Morice's Bill against ecclesiastical abuses.

1597-8. 39 Eliz. [PARL. IX.; Oct. 24—Feb. 9]. *Deprival of Bishops confirmed* (c. 8).

1601. 43 Eliz. [PARLIAMENT X.; Oct. 27—Dec. 19]. **First General Poor-Law** (c. 2).

CHAPTER IX.

THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN ENGLAND AND SPAIN.

From the Return of Drake to the Death of Elizabeth, 1580—1603.

§ 1. Philip II.'s Objects and his Relations with neighbouring Powers, especially Elizabeth.—§ 2. Drake's Circumnavigation of the Globe and Philip's Conquest of Portugal, 1580.—§ 3. Elizabeth and the Netherlands, 1580—1584.—§ 4. The Effect in England of the Assassination of William of Orange, and Throgmorton's Plot, 1583-4. —§ 5. The English *Association* and the French *League*; Influence on English Policy of the *Pact of Joinville* and Parma's Capture of Antwerp, 1585.—§ 6. Drake's Raid on the Spanish Main, 1585-6; *The Treaty of Berwick*, July 1586.—§ 7. Babington's Plot and the Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, 1586-7.—§ 8. Drake's "Singeing of the King of Spain's Beard," April—June 1587.—§ 9. The Coming and Going of the Spanish Armada, July 1588.—§ 10. The Military and Naval Odds against the Armada.—§ 11. Retaliatory Expeditions against Spain, from the Portugal Voyage to the Island Voyage, 1589–97; Elizabeth and Henry IV. of France; the *Peace of Vervins*, and the Death of Philip II., 1598.—§ 12. The Death of Burghley, 1598; Rivalry of Essex, Ralegh and Cecil.—§ 13. Elizabeth's last four Parliaments, 1589–1601; Monopolies, 1601; Death of Elizabeth, March 24, 1603.

Philip II.: his Neighbours and Objects.

§ 1. The direct Papal attack on England had hardly begun to flag before it became manifest that the direct Spanish attack which Elizabeth had so far managed to stave off was really coming. The confused issues that were being fought out in Western Europe were becoming so far narrowed down as to make it clear that only by a duel between England and Spain could the remaining issues be settled. The initiative lay with Philip: he alone was undisputed master of his own country and was free from the conflict of policies which beset all the chief personages with whom he had dealings. The Netherlands were, as we have seen (ch. viii., § 12), a mere tangle of cross-purposes. In France and England alike there were violent religious parties, each striving to

obtain control of the resources of the State for sectarian ends, and a Crown to which—whatever the personal feelings of its wearer—there was constantly open the choice between a political and a religious basis of public policy. In each of these cases the dominant interests were national—unless they were provincial, or even parochial—self-centred, divided. Philip's interests, on the other hand, were imperial, universal; and all his motives, both religious and political, acted in the same direction. His sole object was to blend, or crush, his various dominions into one empire, which should not merely have one head, like his father, but also have one character—should be at once Roman Catholic and Spanish. Ancient political liberties and new-fangled religious liberties were to him impious absurdities. Hence his determined resolve to subdue the Netherlands; to prevent France or England from developing into strong states by means of religious harmony—which to him meant religious indifference; and to keep the New World free from the contamination of heresy—or, indeed, the presence of any European rivals, whatever their creed, to share the profits.

Philip II. and Elizabeth.

The position of England was utterly irreconcilable with these ecclesiastical, commercial, and colonial ideals; and for Philip the only question was—not whether he should tolerate her independence, but—at what time he should force her into a conformity which she was too stupid or wicked to adopt of her own accord. Meanwhile, without burdening himself with the task of putting down England, he had found plenty to do in clearing the infidel out of Spain, and to some extent out of the Mediterranean (Lepanto, 1571), and in trying to suppress "home rule" in his stubborn Netherlandish inheritance. Hitherto, in fact, Elizabeth and Philip, despite all sorts of underhand ill-turns one to another, had been on excellent terms, for they were, in everything but essentials, thoroughly at one. We have now to see how they came to quarrel outright on those essentials—essentials neatly summarised in the demands of a Spanish ambassador, as versified by Fuller:—

"These to you are our commands,
Send us help to the Netherlands;
Of the treasure taken by Drake
Restitution you must make;
And those abbeys build anew
Which your father overthrew;
If for any peace you hope,
In all points obey the Pope."

§ 2. Elizabeth had already given her answer, once for all, on the religious question (ch. vii., § 3; ch. viii., §§ 1-3, 13-15). Her answer as regards the restitution of Spanish treasure was practically given in April 1581, when she paid a visit to Drake at Deptford, and there knighted him on board the *Golden Hind*,—the very vessel with which he had just returned from a three years' voyage round the world, during which he had amassed plunder, in precious metals and spices, to the value of some million sterling (Map, p. 308). That voyage was memorable not only because Drake was the first commander to circumnavigate the globe,—for Magellan had died on the way in 1521, and his voyage had been completed by Sebastian del Cano,—but also because it was the first English intrusion into the Pacific and Indian Oceans (cf. Intro., § 20; ch. xi., §§ 12, 13).

Drake's Circumnavigation of the Globe, 1577-80.

Thus the very same year, 1580, witnessed both the return of the Englishman who had challenged the Iberian monopoly of the New World, and the formal union of both the Spanish and the Portuguese colonies in the hands of Spain. For it was in 1580, on the death of King Henry I. of Portugal and the dearth of any legitimate male heir, that Philip II. asserted his claim to the Portuguese throne by right of his mother and of his first wife (Table, p. 84), and effected the conquest of the country. He thus attained a result aimed at in the many inter-marriages between the royal houses of Spain and Portugal, and completed the work of Ferdinand and Isabella in unifying the Peninsula (Intro., § 13).

Philip II.'s Conquest of Portugal, 1580.

The unification was not permanent, for it was undone in 1640 by the founder of the present reigning house of Braganza. It is worth while noting here that France, the Power which enabled the house of Braganza to recover the independence of Portugal, tried to prevent its absorption by Philip. The French fleet sent to support the claims of Don Antonio—to which Elizabeth thought of sending reinforcements under Drake (cf. § 11)—was, however, defeated off the Azores. The permanent effect of the conquest was to reduce the Portuguese colonial empire to the stagnant condition in which its surviving portions still remain.

The temporary effects were to prevent Philip from supporting more energetically the Spaniards who in September 1580 landed at Smerwick, in Ireland, to take part in the great Desmond Rising of 1579 (ch. x., §§ 16, 17), and to distract his attention somewhat from the Netherlands.

The Netherlands: Attitude of Henry III. and of Elizabeth.

§ 3. For it was in the Netherlands that the main plot of the drama was being worked out. Here Philip was bent on obtaining absolute mastery; the inhabitants were agreed in the determination not to stand that, though endlessly divided as to what they would have instead; while France and England were looking on interestedly, equally resolute with the Netherlanders to thwart Philip, equally jealous one of another. Henry III. of France, taking advantage of the comparative internal quiet since the close of the sixth Religious War in 1577, had dreams of territorial aggrandisement on his northern frontier at the expense of Spain; but these dreams were tempered by qualms of conscience lest by supporting abroad rebels, some of whom were Calvinists, he should seem to countenance the disaffected Calvinists at home. To Elizabeth the possibility of seeing the French at Antwerp was almost as distasteful as that of seeing a victorious Spanish army in the Netherlands with no enemy in sight, and so at liberty to act against herself.

Elizabeth, Alençon-Anjou, and William of Orange, 1580-84.

Meanwhile, Parma was extending his sway over the "obedient provinces"; and his advance forced the United Provinces, who, though severed from Spain (ch. viii., § 12), still felt unable to stand alone, into the arms of the Duke of Alençon-Anjou. By the *Treaty of Plessis*, late in 1580, he accepted the sovereignty of the United Provinces, while his brother, Henry III., was promised Artois as the price of his assistance (cf. ch. ii., §§ 12, 13). In July 1581, these provinces formally renounced their allegiance to Spain by the *Act of Abjuration*; and in the autumn of that year Alençon-Anjou came over to England and entered into a second marriage-treaty with Elizabeth (cf. p. 249). Elizabeth, however, wriggled out of the completion of the contract; and in January 1583, her betrothed, weary, like Philip II., of the constitutional restrictions which rendered

him powerless in his newly-acquired territory, made an attempt to seize Antwerp on his own account. The "*French Fury*," as the attempt was called, ruined his cause, as the Spanish Fury of 1576 (p. 248) had for a moment ruined that of Spain; and he retired to France only to die in June 1584. The death of Elizabeth's last suitor had important fruits for France (§ 5): more important for England was the death, by assassination, of William the Silent, in the following month. Six attempts had already been made on his life: the author of the seventh and successful one was Balthasar Gérard.

The Revival of Marianism: Throgmorton's Plot, 1583.

§ 4. Political assassination was extremely prevalent at this period, mostly on religious grounds: men who have persuaded themselves that they have discovered the ends of Providence easily persuade themselves that their choice of means has also the approval of Providence; and what more sure means than the forceful removal of "the enemies of God"? The assassination of William of Orange caused almost a panic in England lest it should stimulate the zeal of any fanatic to knife Elizabeth. The recent discovery of a plot by Francis Throgmorton—who was executed in November 1583—to bring the Duke of Guise over with an army in support of his cousin's cause had seemed to show the reviving consciousness of such Catholics as were not only Romanists, but also disaffected, that in Mary's accession lay their sole prospect of ultimate success.

The Bond of Association, November 1584.

The various governmental measures of this period against active Roman Catholics (ch. viii., §§ 15, 16), were therefore supplemented, in November 1584, by the private organisation of those who feared they might suffer by such a violent transfer of authority. The *Bond of Association to Protect Queen Elizabeth*, inaugurated by the statesmen most deeply involved against Mary—Burghley and Walsingham—was extensively signed by the nobility, gentry, and leading persons about the Court. Elizabeth's fifth Parliament, before its dissolution in March 1585 (cf. ch. viii., § 15), passed an act that not only gave statutory sanction to this Association, but also sought to effect "the security of the Queen's most royal person and the con-

tinuance of the realm in peace," by making conspiracy utterly profitless to the party chiefly concerned, even if the destructive part of such conspiracy were successful:—

(i.) *Antecedents.* If (*a*) any invasion or rebellion should be made by, or for, any person pretending to the Crown after the Queen's decease; or if (*b*) anything should be compassed or imagined to the Queen's hurt with the privity of such person—

(ii.) *Consequences.* (*a*) A special commission of at least twenty-four persons, consisting of Peers, Privy Councillors, and Judges (nominated by the Queen if alive: if she were murdered, the Lords of the Council, taking to themselves twelve other Lords of Parliament, were to have full powers to pursue, prosecute, and punish the offender) should examine into the offences committed; and

(*b*) Persons who should authorise such an attempt, or on whose behalf the same should be made, were declared incapable of ever wearing the Crown.

The Alliance between Philip and the Guises, 1585.

§ 5. The spring of 1585, which thus witnessed the legalisation of the English *Association* witnessed also the definite formation of the French *League*. Outwardly similar, the two things had differences which were thoroughly characteristic of the two countries. Both were occasioned by uncertainty as to the succession—for the death of Alençon-Anjou (§ 3) and the hopeless childlessness of Henry III. left Henry of Navarre, a Bourbon, the nearest heir, in the male line, to the crown of France, and he was a Huguenot* (Table, p. 85); and both were influenced by a combination of religious and political motives. Only whereas the Association was formed, in the interest of the nation as a whole, to aid the Crown to exclude foreign interference, the League put religion into the foreground, and in order to exclude heretics or connivers at heresy from the throne of France,—or, for that matter, from the whole country,—proposed to call in the aid of the foreigner. That foreigner was, of course, Philip of Spain; and the bargain between Philip on the one hand, and the Guises on the other, was

* The principle of hereditary succession to the Crown, which never obtained unchallenged hold in England till 1701, had been long followed without a break in France, with the addition that, in accordance with what is called the Salic Law, descent through females did not count. How, through fear of heresy, the League cast aside first the limitation against female lines, then the hereditary idea altogether, is admirably traced in Mr. Armstrong's *French Wars of Religion*, pp. 54-56, 63-64—a book peculiarly valuable from its deep insight into the interaction between religious and political motives, and for its historical parallelisms (Percivals, 4*s. 6d.*).

struck in December 1584 by the *Pact of Joinville*. The alliance led in 1587 to the outbreak of the eighth and last of the French Religious Wars—"the War of the Three Henries" (§ 11).

Parma's Capture of Antwerp, August 1585.

The definite drawing together of Spain and a powerful party in France had an immediate effect on the international situation. Henry III. dared do nothing in the teeth of the League: hence he had to decline the proffered sovereignty of the United Provinces (February 1585), and Elizabeth found herself in danger of being left to fight single-handed with Spain. That danger was brought very close in August when Parma, after one of the most memorable sieges in history,* succeeded in reducing Antwerp, and seemed in a fair way to beat down all resistance.

§ 6. Elizabeth was at length driven, in self-defence, to give way to the advice of Burghley and Walsingham, and openly send help to the rebels. In the same month as the capture of Antwerp she despatched one of her ablest captains, Sir John Norris, to Holland; and in October she entered into a formal treaty with the Provinces:—

Leicester in the Netherlands, Dec. 1585–Nov. 1586.

(i.) Elizabeth to furnish and pay 5000 foot and 1000 horse.

(ii.) Flushing and Brill to be placed in her hands as security that her expenses should be repaid, and that she should have a voice in the settlement of the Netherlands.

(iii.) The Provinces not to persecute Roman Catholics.

Elizabeth refused to accept the sovereignty of the Provinces because such conduct would at once deny Philip's sovereignty—which shocked her respect for kingship—and plunge her into an expenditure limited only by her own or Philip's exhaustion. That was why she was furious when her old friend, Leicester, who went out at the end of 1585 in command of the English forces, accepted from the States the civil title of Governor-General. The acrimonious inter-State jealousies crippled Leicester, no less than Philip's parsimony crippled Parma; and amongst the many skirmishings, sieges, and raids of his first visit (till November 1586), the only notable event for us is the battle of Warnsfeld, near Zutphen, September 22. That battle is notable

* For a full account see Motley's *History of the United Netherlands*, ch. v.

because Sir Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew and Governor of Flushing, was mortally wounded; and Sidney, though politically a person of no importance, was the aptest embodiment of the best social ideas of his age.*

Drake's Raid on the Spanish Main, 1585-86.

Elizabeth's alarm at the success of Philip, in France and the Netherlands, expressed itself in other ways, besides this active interference in the latter country. She "unyoked the Dragon," as the Spaniards put it: in other words, she permitted Drake to get up a large privateering expedition of over twenty sail, and to take with him a force of some 2000 under his son-in-law, Alexander Carleill. With these Drake started, in September 1585, took Santiago, the capital of the Cape Verde Islands, stormed S. Domingo, the capital of Hispaniola, in the following January, and Cartagena, the chief town on the Atlantic face of the Spanish Main (February); and on his way home plundered the Spanish settlement at S. Augustine in Florida, and picked up the remains of Ralegh's second plantation of Virginia (ch. xi., § 13).

The Treaty of Berwick, July, 1586.

Drake arrived back in July 1586, just at the moment when Elizabeth was forging yet another shield against Spain, in the shape of a treaty with James VI. of Scots, who, now that he had finally escaped the clutches of the Jesuits (ch. viii., § 14), was in the same boat with his southern neighbour, with whom he had long been wrangling. The *Treaty of Berwick* provided:—

(i.) That the Church settlements of both countries should be maintained.
(ii.) That either country was to help the other if invaded.
(iii.) That the Scots were to leave Ireland alone [cf. ch. x., §§ 14, 15].
(iv.) That each party was to give up rebels against the other.

Babington's Plot, 1586.

§ 7. Elizabeth secured James VI.'s assent to this treaty by a pension of £6000 a year, and to thus effect a breach between James and his mother was well worth the money. For with the revival of Roman Catholic prospects in the Western States, there had naturally come a revival of the Marian party, one of whose hopes had been the reconciliation of Mary and her son. Throgmorton's Plot of 1583 (§ 4) was within three years followed up by a much

* See Mr. Fox-Bourne's *Life*, and the Biography, Appendix V. *ad fin.*

more menacing conspiracy, the objects of which were to kill Elizabeth, and, by the aid of Parma, to set Mary on the throne. The prime author was Ballard, a Jesuit touring in England, and the conspirators were mostly young Roman Catholic gentry, headed by Antony Babington. The conspiracy was known to Walsingham's spies, almost from the outset; but it was allowed to mature until a letter of Babington's to Mary had made her also cognisant of the scheme. Then a number of arrests were made, and, in September 1586, fourteen participators were executed.

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots, Feb. 8, 1587.

On October 25 Mary herself was found guilty of treason by a Special Commission of forty-five persons sitting under the provisions of the Act of 1585 (§ 4). Elizabeth's sixth Parliament, which had met to convey to the Queen the general sense of the nation on the matter, prayed for Mary's execution on the perfectly true ground that "the Queen's safety could no way be secured as long as the Queen of Scots lived." But it was not till the first day of February, 1587, that she overcame her reluctance to put to death a fellow-sovereign and signed the death-warrant; and even then she left the responsibility of carrying it out to her Council, and made Mr. Secretary Davison the scapegoat—disgrace, imprisonment, and a fine of 10,000 marks—for the execution, which took place on February 8, at Fotheringhay Castle in Northamptonshire.

Philip turns on England, 1587.

§ 8. The death of Mary, which did not arouse much ill-feeling at the time, has in later days attracted a great deal of invective against Elizabeth, on the various grounds of ungenerosity, impolicy or injustice—either on the general ground that Mary was not amenable to English law, or on the specific ground that she was not proven to be an accomplice of Babington's. Her removal finally removed the danger of a Roman Catholic insurrection; for there was no one left whom the English Romanists preferred to Elizabeth. On the other hand, it joined hands with Elizabeth's expedition to the Netherlands and the West Indies (§ 6) to make foreign interference inevitable. Both as a descendant of John of Gaunt, as Mary's nominated legatee, and as the chosen champion of Rome, Philip conceived that he had claims on

the English crown; and these claims he thought it better to enforce at once, before finishing off his conquest of the revolted Netherlands and fully acquiring supremacy in France.

"Singeing the King of Spain's Beard," April June 1587.

Elizabeth, however,—half desiring to come to terms, half believing that Philip would stand almost any insult and injury,—at once continued negotiations with Parma, and despatched Drake, with a squadron of twenty-five sail, to reconnoitre on the Spanish coast. Drake started in April 1587, destroyed a quantity of ships and stores in Cadiz and off Cape S. Vincent, and, after recouping himself for the cost of the expedition by the capture of the richly-laden Indiaman, *San Felipe*, off the Azores, was back at Plymouth by the end of June. Owing to his explicit orders not to touch Lisbon, he had been unable to destroy the great fleet which Philip was preparing for the attack on England, but the damage he had wrought ultimately caused its delay till the following year: as he himself put it, he had "singed the King of Spain's Beard."

The Coming of the Armada, June - July, 1588.

§ 9. "Elizabeth's darling policy," Mr. Corbett* has precisely put it, "had been all along to do her brother-in-law grievous bodily harm, without committing a breach of the peace." So now, though she pocketed her share of the profits, she reprimanded Drake for exceeding instructions, apologised profusely, and refused to let him stir out of England again. Still hoping that Philip might be mollified, she would not let Drake take the offensive and attack the intended expedition piecemeal before it had concentrated. The Armada —to which the glowing pride of the victors has prefixed the epithet of "Invincible"—was thus enabled to gather in the Tagus under the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, and to make a start thence on May 30. It was, however, driven back into Coruña by a storm, which sank one galley and caused sufficient confusion to enable David Gwyn, a Welsh galley-slave, to seize two others.† On July 12 it made a second start, and a week later it was espied passing the Lizard. The English fleet, under Lord Howard of Effingham, the

* In his life of *Sir Francis Drake*, p. 136 ("English Men of Action" Series).

† The *Vasana* and the *Rosad*. The incident is the basis of a stirring poem by Mr. Lewis Morris. Macaulay's fragment on the Armada deals with a later part of the episode. Mr. Swinburne's *Tercentenary Ode* on the Armada, not only tells the story, but also powerfully depicts the feelings whereby both sides were moved

Lord High Admiral, Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Winter, Ralegh, and others, poured out of Plymouth, and for ten days closely pursued the "Grand Fleet" as it sailed up Channel in half-moon formation—"very slowly, though with full sails, the winds being, as it were, weary with wafting them, and the ocean groaning under their weight." The English ships, being better sailers and having the wind, were sometimes able to pounce down upon a straggler, and twice forced on a general engagement of the whole fleet—on Sunday, July 21, near Plymouth, and two days later off Portland. Next Saturday the Armada cast anchor in Calais Roads.

The Battle of Gravelines, July 29.

The intention was there to await Parma, who was lying hard by in Dunkirk, with some 17,000 veterans and a number of flat-bottomed boats built to transport them to England. The Dutch fleet, which had been blockading him, had been compelled to retire. Nothing seemed to hinder his embarkation and his invasion of England—covered by the Armada and reinforced by the 20,000 soldiers it held. To prevent this junction being effected, eight English fireships were on Sunday night sent in amongst the Spaniards; and though they caused no destruction, they *did* throw the Armada into confusion. Before it had time to re-form next day off Gravelines, Drake, Howard's lieutenant and second in command, bore down upon it in the *Revenge*—the ship with which, three years later, Sir Richard Grenville fought the fight, sung by Tennyson, against fifty-three Spanish sail. After some six hours' fighting, the English, with the loss of but sixty men, destroyed, or put to flight, twenty-four Spanish vessels.

The Flight of the Armada, July 31.

The Armada had now drifted past Dunkirk, and, as the wind still blew steadily from the south-west, could not return to meet Parma. It was therefore resolved to make for Spain round the north of the British Isles. On the way it encountered dirty weather, and, ultimately, of the original one hundred and thirty-two vessels but fifty-three reached home again. The English fleet had prevented the invasion of England, but did little towards the destruction of the armament which was to have effected it. "I sent the fleet against man, and not against the billows," said Philip, marvelling, like Mary (ch.

vi., § 12), but resigned: Elizabeth struck a medal inscribed—

"DEUS FLAVIT ET DISSIPATI SUNT."

§ 10. The defeat of the Armada was a great achievement; but its success would have been a still greater achievement. The project was in reality a midnight-oil and fine-weather affair. Philip planned the scheme in his palace of the Escurial, but in calculating the effect of the force he was putting into action, he made no allowance for the friction of circumstances. Parma's unreadiness was the prime cause of failure: but even if he had embarked, he would have found it difficult to cross in the face of the English fleet; and to cross would have been easier than to land; to land than to march up country. His own veterans, and the raw recruits from Spain, could not have moved far from their base—a base constantly threatened by the possible defeat of the fleet which protected it—and could not have effected much in face of a nation in arms. Elaborate plans for local defence, relieved from danger of isolation by a system of beacon-fires, had been made throughout England; Leicester lay at Tilbury with over 50,000 men; and if these were defeated, more would spring up in their room. Philip counted on a rising of Roman Catholics: Parma knew better. Few Englishmen were eager to clutch the hand that lay so heavy on the obedient provinces of the Netherlands and on France (§ 11).

The Odds against the Armada:—
1. Military.

In its naval, no less than in its military department, the odds were against the Armada. The Spanish ships were perhaps better furnished with provisions and munitions than the English, and they were certainly superior in tonnage, but in nearly every other requisite they fell short. Their vessels were fewer in number,* and many of them were merely transports; besides, they were, for the most part, built on lines that were fast growing obsolete. Their towering poop and stern gave them an imposing appearance, but rendered them

2. Naval.

* The precise details are—

	Ships.	*Tonnage.*	*Sailors.*	*Guns.*
SPANISH	132	59,120	8766	3165
	[Also 21,855 soldiers and 2088 galley-slaves.]			
ENGLISH	197	29,744	15,785	...
Royal	34	11,850	6279	837
Volunteers	163	17,894	9506	?

unable to carry much canvas: the English vessels, with their longer and lower hulls, were not only far more easily handled, but also were almost untouchable by the high-trained Spanish artillery. Again, the English sailors were not only more numerous, but also better at the management both of ships and of guns; and the English guns, though probably fewer in number, were heavier and better made—the Spaniards, in fact, imported their best guns from us. Only in the event of grappling and boarding could the Spaniards, with their superiority in soldiery, really do much harm; and that contingency was seldom allowed to arise.

Anti-Spanish Expeditions, 1589-97.

§ 11. England's deliverance from the fear of foreign domination, had decisive effects on the future of both herself and of her neighbours. As we have seen (Intro., § 30), it put an end to the need of the exceptional powers with which the English Kingship had been entrusted for over a century; and, though as yet men knew it not, it was the beginning of the decline of Spain and of the possibility of future maritime supremacy for England. One of the signs of these things was Philip's pains to fortify his chief colonial stations, as no longer safe from the casual marauder. Another sign was the series of retaliatory expeditions sent against Spain (List, p. 307)—with scarce an answer save the Spanish raid on Penzance in 1595, and their occupation of Kinsale in 1601 (ch. x., § 20). Of these expeditions the chief were the Portugal Voyage of 1589, in aid of Don Antonio (§ 2); Essex's brilliant capture of Cadiz in 1596; and the Island Voyage of Essex and Ralegh to the Azores in 1597, whose failure was balanced by the dispersal in a storm of Philip's second Armada.

The Triumph of Henry IV., 1588-1598.

These naval expeditions had been for the most part conducted by privateersmen, with Government help and in co-operation with the Dutch and with Henry IV. of France, and had played their part in foiling Philip's schemes in France and the Netherlands, as well as against us. At the end of the Armada year Henry III., finding his subordination to "the uncrowned king of France" insupportable, had procured the assassination of Henry of Guise, and was himself assassinated by a Dominican zealot in the following August.

A wild three years' struggle then burst out between Henry of Navarre—subsidised in men and money by Elizabeth—and the League, backed by Spain. Henry was, however, as Parma put it, "a man who wore out more boots than slippers"; and ultimately, by taking advantage of the split between Philip and the Guises, and of the growing disgust of all moderate men for such internecine strife, he became master of the situation, and on announcing his conversion to Rome in July 1593, was generally recognised as king. Five years later he secured an effective toleration for his old co-religionists by the *Edict of Nantes*. His triumph, like that of Elizabeth, was grounded in the fact that he placed his country before his creed, and so rallied to his side all the *Politiques*. Like the Tudors, he rescued his kingdom from a devastating civil war, and thus became the founder of a strong monarchy which was destined to set its mark on the succeeding century. As a strong ex-Leaguer put it: "*c'est heur de vivre sous un bon roy, non tyran.*"

End of the Netherlandish Struggle, 1609.

Henry's struggle had twice drawn Parma from the Netherlands—once in 1590 to relieve Paris, and once in 1592 to relieve Rouen, which was being besieged by Henry and Elizabeth jointly—and so helped to avert their conquest. The death of Parma in December 1592 practically took them out of danger, though it was not till 1609 that the United Provinces secured a truce, not till 1648 that their independence was formally recognised. Long before that they had already become the leading naval and commercial Power in Europe, and had, all unwillingly, assumed the political constitution of a confederate republic.

Death of Philip II., 1598.

The year 1598 was for Europe what the year 1588 was for England: the *Treaty of Vervins* (May) between Spain and France expressed the failure of Philip with regard to France, as his making peace with a successful heretic implicitly expressed his general failure. A few months later he died a bruised man and bankrupt king.

The death of Burghley, 1598.

§ 12. The death of Lord Burghley in the same year as that of his old opponent, Philip, bereaved Elizabeth of the last of the friends of her youth. Sussex died in 1583; Sir Henry Sidney in the same year as his son Philip; Leicester had died before the remnants

of the Armada had reached home; Walsingham had gone in 1591; Sir Christopher Hatton, her Chancellor, in 1592; and Lord Hunsdon and Sir Francis Knollys, two of her closest connections on the Boleyn side (Table, p. 202), had both died in 1596. To each and all she was exacting and capricious; and each of these and of the crowd of less distinguished courtiers that gathered round her often had occasion to feel "what hell it is in suing long to bide."*

Cecil, Ralegh, and Essex, 1598—1601.

During her later years a new generation of courtiers sprang up, of whom the chief were Burghley's son, Sir Robert Cecil, Sir Walter Ralegh, and the young Earl of Essex. These wrangled and intrigued almost incessantly for the first place in her favour; but it was Essex who came nearest to success both with her and with the nation. He was a charming fellow with a suspicion of genius and an undeniable temper; and, like Ralegh, was resolved to be *aut Caesar aut nullus*—hence their ruinous quarrel in 1597. Like Leicester, he occasionally forgot that Elizabeth was his Queen before she was his friend, and on one occasion she had to box his ears for turning his back on her in Council. A few years later, after he had in Ireland lost the reputation as a general which he had acquired at Cadiz in 1596 (§ 11; ch. x., § 19), Elizabeth punished his insubordination by discontinuing the grant of a monopoly of sweet wines, remarking "In order to manage an ungovernable beast he must be stinted of his provender." Finally, believing, as he had believed when he rushed travel-stained from Ireland to her room, that to gain admission to her presence would be to regain her favour, he attempted to force a passage thither by arms (Feb. 8, 1601). His insurrection failed, and at the end of February 1601 he was executed. Elizabeth was never quite the same woman again.

From the Seventh to the Ninth Parliaments, 1589—1598.

§ 13. At the end of the same year—in October—Elizabeth met her tenth and last Parliament. It was far the most important assembly since that which had been summoned to endorse her punishment of Mary (§ 7). Parliament had met in the spring of the year following the Armada, and the strong

* Spenser's *The Ape and the Fox*: the context is quoted at length in Mr. Low's companion volume on *English Literature* (vol. II., ch. vii., p. 107).

Protestant feeling, natural at such a time, expressed itself in the introduction of a Bill for Church-reform, and a revised Prayer-Book; but the only result had been the imprisonment of Cope, the would-be legislator, and of the irrepressible Peter Wentworth—and, outside Parliament, the further output of *Martin Marprelate Tracts* (cf. ch. viii., § 6). In the next Parliament (1593) a similar Puritan effort was made by a Mr. Morice, again without success: on the contrary, an Act was passed which, for the first time, definitely struck at attempts at nonconformity by Protestants.

The Tenth Parliament, October—December 1601.

The Parliament of 1597-8 was engaged in economic rather than in ecclesiastical legislation; and the Parliament of 1601 followed in the same direction. It not only passed the *First General Poor-Law* (ch. xi., § 10), but also revived an old agitation of 1571 and 1597 against the excessive grant of Monopolies. They were intended to regulate trade: they only restricted it. On examination into the matter she found the Commons had a legitimate grievance, and promised to withdraw all harmful Monopolies. Her answer to the Commons' vote of thanks admirably expresses the spirit of her Parliamentary relations:—

"I have more cause to thank you than you me; for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher Judge—to whose judgment-seat I do appeal that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or ever shall have, any that will be more careful and loving."

The Death of Elizabeth, March 24, 1603.

Throughout 1602 Elizabeth was gradually sinking. She was nearly seventy years old; she had had a wearing life; and she had outlived her generation and done her life's work. On March 24 she passed away, after signifying her approval of James VI. as her successor. She had established the religious and political independence of her country; and her greatness can best be measured by the contrast between England in 1558 (ch. vii., § 1) and in 1603. For her, as for Wren, the appropriate epitaph is

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Ardmore Bay
Tralee
Tralee Bay
Dingle
Killarney
Killarney Lakes
Ballinskelligs Bay
Kenmare
Bantry
Skelligs
Valentia Harbour
Dunmanus Bay
Crookhaven
Mizen Head
Cape Clear
Fastnet
Fastnet Rock
Sherkin I.
Baltimore
Roaring Water Bay
Kinsale Head
Old Head of Kinsale
Courtmacsherry Bay
Courtmacsherry
Clonakilty Bay
Clonakilty
Rosscarbery
Rosscarbery Bay
Glandore Harbour
Glandore
Castle Haven
Castle Haven Bay
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Ballydehob
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Crookhaven
Mizen Head
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Bantry
Bantry Bay
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Whiddy Island
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Glengariff Harbour
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Kenmare River
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Valentia Harbour
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Dingle
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Askeaton Bay
Adare
Adare Bay
Tarbert
Tarbert Bay
Ballylongford
Ballylongford Bay
Listowel
Listowel Bay

CHAPTER X.

IRELAND UNDER THE TUDORS.

1485—1603.

§ 1. Some differences between the Norman "Conquest of Ireland" and the Norman Conquest of England.—§ 2. Ireland in 1485: (*a*) "the King's Irish Subjects" of the "Pale."—§ 3. (*b*) "The King's Irish Rebels": the Geraldines.—§ 4. (*c*) "The King's Irish Enemies": the Sept.—§ 5. Henry VII.'s two methods of ruling Ireland.—§ 6. The Rule, Revolt, and Ruin of the Leinster Geraldines.—§ 7. Lord Leonard Grey (1536-40) and the end of Non-Government.—§ 8. The Beginnings of the Irish Reformation, 1537.—§ 9. The Dissolution of the Irish Monasteries, 1542.—§ 10. Sir Antony Saintleger (1540-48) and the Policy of Coercive Conciliation; the Land Question; Ireland a Kingdom.—§ 11. Some Differences between the English and the Irish Reformations; the perpetuation of the division in the Irish Church.—§ 12. Elizabethan Rule in Ireland: its difficulties, faults, and objects.—§ 13. The Policy of Extermination and Colonisation: Leix and Offaly, 1558.—§ 14. Shane O'Neil, 1558-67.—§ 15. Sir Henry Sidney's Second Term and the First Desmond Rebellion, 1568-71; Essex in Ulster.—§ 16.—Sidney's Third Term, 1575-79: Methods of Repression; Danger of Foreign Interference.—§ 17. The Second Desmond Rebellion, 1579-84.—§ 18. Lord-Deputyships of Sir John Perrot (1584-88) and of Sir William Fitzwilliam (1588-94).—§ 19. Hugh O'Neil's Rising, 1597; his victory at the Yellow Ford, 1598; Lord-Lieutenancy of Essex, 1599.—§ 20. Lord Mountjoy completes the Conquest of Ireland, 1600-3.

The Norman "Conquest of Ireland."

§ 1. "The Conquest of Ireland by Henry II." is a phrase which may perhaps be ranked as the saddest of Hibernicisms. The filibustering Norman expeditions in Ireland of the twelfth century were not conducted by Henry II., and never amounted to a conquest. The sporadic operations whose first pretext had been to support one of the Irish kings against his rivals, whose motive had been the restless land-hunger of the Norman

adventurers, and whose justification had been the desire to bring Ireland once more within the circle of Western civilisation by gathering the Irish Churches more closely to the bosom of S. Peter, did indeed result in the nominal acceptance of Henry II. as "lord" of the whole country and of its minor kings; but neither he nor his successors found time to make their supremacy a reality. A considerable number of Norman barons were allowed to take and keep what they could; and, by the end of the thirteenth century, these immigrants spread over most of Southern and Central Ireland. But their settlements were separated by independent native tribes who were at constant war among themselves and with the new-comers. Yet, despite deep racial hostility, despite the superiority of the Normans in civilisation and in instinct for government, the *comeling* Normans gradually adopted the customs, dress, and even language, of the *homeling* Irish whom they despised and had seemingly conquered. Hence Spenser's wail:—"*How quickly doth this country alter men's natures!*" *

The Norman Feudal Aristocracy.

The reason is not far to seek. Just as the Norman kings in England had seized on the English local institutions as a basis for their centralised monarchy, so did these Norman barons seize on the Keltic institutions which, as we shall see (§ 4), were only too well adapted for the disruptive policy of a feudal aristocracy. Owing to the fatal absence of the King, the long struggle between Baronage and Monarchy, which proved the salvation of England, was impossible in Ireland: left to themselves, the settlers failed not only to complete the settlement of the whole country, but also to hold their own ground and fulfil their civilising function.

* The story of Ireland may be further studied in the poet SPENSER'S *View of the State of Ireland* (written in 1596) and in Sir JOHN DAVIES'S *Discovery of the True Causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued nor brought under obedience to the Crown of England* (published in 1612). These have been edited, with other Seventeenth-Century tracts on Ireland, by Prof. Henry Morley, in Routledge's "Carisbrooke Library" (2*s.* 6*d.*), and are capital reading: to this edition the references made in the following pages are made. Of modern books the largest is Mr. BAGWELL'S *Ireland under the Tudors* (3 vols.); the fairest handy history is Mr. A. G. RICHEY'S *Lectures on the History of Ireland*; and perhaps the most suggestive is Prof. GOLDWIN SMITH'S *Irish History and Character*. The student may profitably consult the early parts of Mr. LECKY'S *History of Ireland in the Eighteenth Century* and Prof. FROUDE'S *English in Ireland*, as also Mr. C. G. WALPOLE'S standard work on the *History of the Kingdom of Ireland*.

Ireland in the Fifteenth Century.

Attempts to check the tendency of the Anglo-Norman colonists to fall to the level of their neighbours were made both by such laws as the first Duke of Clarence forced through the Irish Parliament at Kilkenny in 1367, and by such armed interference as indirectly cost Richard II. his throne in 1399. But both methods had failed completely; and at the end of the long neglect which civil troubles at home enforced on the Lancastrian and Yorkist kings, Ireland was in a condition of organised unrest, with government, colonists and natives struggling for supremacy. "There is no land in this world," wrote a visitor, "of so long continual war within himself, nor of so great shedding of Christian blood, nor of so great robbery, spoiling, preying, and burning, nor of so great wrongful extortion continually as Ireland."

Ireland in 1485.

§ 2. There were three grades of English political impotence in Ireland. First there was "the *Pale*," where the King's writ ran. Secondly, there was the degenerate *Englishry*, owning the King's suzerainty indeed, but whose leaders were really petty kings each of his own district. Thirdly, there was the native *Irishry*, who had, as Hallam puts it, "justly renounced all allegiance to a government which could not redeem the original wrong of its usurpation by the benefits of protection." The statutory names for these three classes are significant;—"the King's Irish subjects," "the King's Irish rebels," and "the King's Irish enemies." The former two may be described jointly as "Hibernianders": despite their mutual jealousies and many factions, they were, like the "Africanders" of our own day, united in their dislike of the interference of the Home Government for the protection of the natives.

1. "The King's Irish Subjects."

The geographical limits and political conditions of each of these three divisions deserve attention. The *Pale* was the name given in the fifteenth century to the small patch of land round Dublin which was still governed on the English model, sent representatives to the infrequent Irish Parliament, and was visited by the King's judges. It was, perhaps, twenty miles in width by thirty miles in length. Though protected by dykes and forts and a barrier of waste marches, it was the

ready prey of the Irish enemy, who received a regular "black rent" for abstention from its plunder; and it was also liable to military duties and Parliamentary taxes. In the *Pander's Report* of 1515 the condition of this transmarine continuation of feudal England was thus described:—

"The Pale consists of but half the county of Uriel (*Louth*), half the county of Meath, half the county of Dublin, half the county of Kildare. It is more oppressed and more miserable than any other in the whole country; nor in any part of the known world are so evil to be seen in town and field, so brutish, so trod under foot and with so wretched a life."

§ 3. Outside the Pale, as a study of the map will show, the descendants of Norman immigrants and the Irish tribes lay in streaks. Of the former the chief families were the Geraldines, the Butlers, and the Bourkes. The Geraldines had two huge districts under their control, each of which had, since early in the fourteenth century, given its name to an earldom. That of Kildare lay along the western frontier of the Pale: that of Desmond stretched across Munster from Cork to the estuary of the Shannon. These two branches were parted by their great rivals, the Butlers, whose district, known as the Earldom of Ormonde, lay along the rivers Barrow and Suir. The South rang incessantly with the slogans of these two families—*Crom-a-boo!* and *Butler-a-boo!* The Butlers were traditionally loyal to the speech, customs, and crown of England. The Geraldines were stronger and more insubordinate: they were allied by marriage with half the Irish chieftains; crowds of dependents wore a "G" on the breast "in token that they owed their hearts to the Fitzgeralds"; and they had freely adopted Irish customs. But the two groups of McWilliam who covered the bulk of Connaught, and who are collectively called Bourkes, went much further. In the reign of Edward III. they had deliberately renounced their allegiance, and by their very change of name—originally the Norman *de Burgo*—showed how Irish they had become. What this tendency to "Irish condition" meant may be in part gathered from the following section.

2. "The King's Irish Rebels."

§ 4. The most independent of the Irish tribes were those

in Ulster, whence the few Norman settlers who had ever got a footing there had been altogether expelled by Edward Bruce, the destroyer of the English supremacy in Ireland, as his brother Robert was the destroyer of English supremacy in Scotland. Of these the O'Neils of Tyrone and the O'Donnels in Donegal were the most important. Ulster, which has in our own days been paradoxically regarded as "no part of Ireland," was then the most distinctively and compactly "Irish" part of the country. Immediately north of the Pale dwelt the McMahons and the O'Hanlons. West of the Shannon, in what is now County Clare, dwelt the powerful O'Briens of Thomond—whose hand could reach as far as Dublin. Between the two branches of the Geraldines and north of Ormonde still survived the O'Connors of Offaly and the O'Moores of Leix (§ 13). The south-western and south-eastern angles of the island were also Irish—the latter being in the hands of the McMurroughs, a tribe formidable enough to be pensioned by the Crown.

3. "The King's Irish Enemies."

Against each other and their semi-English neighbours these tribes maintained a fitful independence. With the exception of five tribes (O'Neils, O'Briens, O'Connors, O'Melaghlins, and McMurroughs, known collectively as the *Quinque Sanguines*) and certain individuals to whom the rights of Englishmen had been granted, the Irish were out of the protection of the English Law; nor was there much readiness on the part of the Hibernianders to bring them under its protection. That was the reason why it was, as the saying went, "no felony to kill an Irishman." The Irish and the English were each dealt with according to their own law; and the Brehon Law of the Irish was, as Mr. Froude has put it, "a primitive code of customs in which crime was a word without meaning, and the most savage murder could be paid for with a cow or sheep." In other words, the Irish Kelts, though they had passed the primitive stage of revenge for blood, had not yet come to regard violence as an offence against the *State*: it was still, as it was with the English when they first came to Britain, a *family* affair; there was a graduated scale of payments for injury in lieu of revenge,

Irish Civilisation and Law.

and each man according to his rank had his *eric*, as the English had once had their *wergeld*.

Their whole social arrangements were in a similar intermediate condition: they had got out of the nomad condition, but had not greatly developed the conception of private property; while as regards government, though they had advanced beyond the patriarchal stage, in which the family is everything, and entered the tribal stage, there had been, since the invasions of the Danes, hardly an effort to weave the various tribes into a confederacy, much less a unitary state. The keynote of all Irish social arrangements was not the self-interestedness of the citizen, but the personal devotion of the kinsman: thus the tribe was made a kind of artificial family by the extensive practice of *Fostering*, or *Alteraye*—the custom of rearing other folk's children among one's own—and *Gossiprede*, or Sponsorship—a sort of second Fosterage of adults. Spenser records from his own observation an instance of the strength of this tie: he once saw at Limerick the foster-mother of a traitor who was being quartered take up his head and suck the blood that ran from it, saying that "the earth was not worthy to drink it!" In the fact that Irish institutions were so little conducive to unity lay the safety of the Norman intruders against annihilation by the more numerous natives: the fact that they were quite incompatible with order constituted their charm for a feudal aristocracy, who, in Sir John Davies' words, "drank of Circe's cup and were turned into very beasts." *

Irish Institutions: the *Sept*.

The basis of society was the *sept*, or clan. In some cases a cluster of these formed a tribe. These groups were held together by a real or supposed tie of blood, and by obedience to a chief. The chieftainship, together with certain of the lands belonging to the group attached thereto, went not to the eldest son, but, by a custom known as *tanistry*, to whichever relation of

* Sir John Davies' *Discovery*, pp. 290-97 (in Car. Ed.). He ends up his indictment by saying: "I omit their [the Irish] common repudiation of their wives; their promiscuous generation of children; their neglect of lawful matrimony; their uncleanness in apparel, diet and lodging; and their contempt and scorn of all things necessary for the civil life of man." A short technical account of the structure of Irish Society will be found in Cassell's *Dictionary of English History*, p. 605.

the chief the men of the group should deem most worthy; and the election of a Tanaist, as the prospective chief was called, took place during the lifetime of his predecessor. There was ample scope for instability here; nor was there less in the custom which, from its neglect of primogeniture, has been called by the Kentish name of *gavelkind*—whereby on the death of any member of the group the lands were redivided amongst the whole.

Irish Feudalism: its incidents and unruliness.

The abhorrence of fixity thus witnessed was exhibited also in the absence of certainty of the rent or services due from septsman or tribesman to chief in return for his protection and leadership. The rights of the chief over his tribesmen illustrate pretty clearly the meaning of the Irish tenant's traditional maxim —"*Spend me and defend me!*" The principal ones were *coshery*, the right to use their houses and provisions at will, and *bonaght*, the right to distribute dependents at free quarters amongst the tenantry. Both were eagerly caught at by the Norman nobility in preference to their own more fixed and regular feudal customs. With such facilities for the support of fighting men, no wonder that "strife and bloodshed were the sole business of life" amongst the sixty Irish chiefs and thirty great captains of the English noble folk enumerated in the *Pander's Report* as having some seven or eight hundred swords apiece. The effect of *coyne and livery*—as *bonaght* was called by the Englishry—was put tersely enough by the same writer: "though they were invented in hell, they could not have been practised there, or they would have overturned the kingdom of Beelzebub."

Henry VII. and Non-Interference.

§ 5. Such was Ireland as Henry VII. found it. Evidently it was hopeless to attempt a revolution there till he had obtained a firm hold on England. All he could do was to leave Ireland alone, so long as it would leave him alone: when Ireland gave him trouble, he was driven to take active measures. In the recent wars few families, save the Butlers, had favoured the Red Rose: the Geraldines had been strong Yorkist partisans. When Richard of York had taken refuge across the Channel in his old governorship

after the Rout of Ludford in 1459, an Irish Parliament had asserted its independence in his behalf, and had had that independence recognised by him as the price of its support. So now the eighth Earl of Kildare risked his chances of again becoming Lord-deputy to support the successive pretenders to a Yorkist title. In 1487 Lambert Simnel was crowned at Dublin, and invaded England (ch. i., § 3) at the head of a body of Irish *kerns*—light-armed foot, carrying *skeins* (knives) and darts—and *gallowglasses*—troops wearing defensive armour and bearing huge axes,—only to be cut to pieces at Stoke. Yet Kildare remained deputy till his support of Perkyn Warbeck (ch. i., § 4) led to his supersession by Sir Edward Poynings, who had him attainted and sent him over to England in 1494.

Poynings and the *Statute of Drogheda*, 1495.

The deputyship of Poynings was almost the first real effort to secure order throughout Ireland—not only in the parts under direct English rule but elsewhere also. He began his term of office with the defeat of the tribes of O'Hanlon and McGennis, who pressed on the Pale from the North, then turned to crush a Geraldine rising at Carlow. But his war-like efforts were "baffled by the nimbleness and ubiquity of an almost impalpable foe"; and his real fame rests, not on these attempts to extend the dominion of England, but on his endeavour to establish her rule, where recognised, on a sound footing. In 1495, he forced through the Irish Parliament that met at Drogheda the legislation which is known collectively as *Poynings'* (or more commonly *Poyning's*) *Law*. Some of the laws included under this name were aimed at the disorderly practices whereby the degenerate Englishry ruined either themselves or their Irish neighbours: measures were passed to secure

(i.) *Law and Order:* Private hostilities without the Deputy's licence were made illegal; to excite the Irish to war was made High Treason; to permit Irish rebels to pass the borders of the Pale was made felony; murder was in no case to be commuted by a fine on the sept but punished, after the manner directed by the English Law, in the person of the guilty individual;

(ii.) *Re-Anglicisation of the English:* Requisitions of *coyne and livery* were strictly forbidden; and all owners of land, especially in the Marches, were to reside on their own estates, and not to evict English freeholders to make room for Irish tenants-at-will.

(iii.) *Effective Governmental control:* Royal officers were for the future to hold office not for life but during the King's pleasure.

All this was little more than a renewal of that Statute of Kilkenny (1367) which had, as Mr. Walpole points out, been so "perpetually renewed, habitually set at nought, and constantly evaded by licences of exemption." Yet it was shown to be meant seriously by the fact that some of the old "enactments of despair" were dropped as hopeless: to speak Irish, to wear a moustache, and to ride without a saddle—these things were no longer penal. Two other measures were novel and significant: they implied that the Hiberniander was no longer to be left to his own devices:—

(iv.) "All statutes lately made in England and belonging to the public weal of the same shall be deemed good and effectual in Ireland."

(v.) "No Parliament shall in future be holden in Ireland till the King's Lieutenant shall certify to the King the causes and considerations and all such acts as it seems to him ought to be passed thereon, and such be affirmed by the King and his English Council, and his licence to hold a Parliament be obtained."

The Constitutional Relations of England and Ireland.

The outcome of the former of these clauses was the enforcement in Ireland *en bloc* of all English legislation passed up to date, while later measures—until the *Declaratory Act* of 6 Geo. I. definitely stated that statutes of the British Parliament were binding in Ireland—did not come into effect there till specially adopted by the Irish Parliament. The latter clause was simply the death and burial of the Irish Parliament. This body was not a very dignified or potent institution*—it has been called a "scratch assembly"—but it might have become of some account had not its initiative been thus destroyed; for when it came to represent not merely the Pale and the outlying English towns, but also the whole of Ireland, it was still gagged by this law.

* The Irish Parliament, like the English Parliament, grew up in the thirteenth century, but its composition was somewhat different. In the Upper House, the lay lords obtained exemption from attendance, and the bishops and abbots were largely absentees; in the Lower House, side by side with a varying number of knights and burgesses—the latter summoned irregularly, sometimes by name, without even the forms of election—sat two clerical proctors from each diocese. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the Upper House mustered 3 archbishops, 7 bishops, and 23 temporal lords; the Lower, 76 members—from 10 counties and 28 cities. Twenty-five years later the Lower House had grown to 122 members. A description of the Parliament by Sir John Davies is printed in the "Carisbrooke Library," vol. x., pp. 393—409.

On the other hand, it must be remembered that this provision was devised to secure precisely the same end as its repeal in 1782 was hoped by Grattan and his party to secure—viz., the destruction of the political power of the self-interested and factious Anglo-Irish oligarchy. It was to promote the general welfare of the inhabitants of Ireland, as distinct from that of the dominant clique of Hibernianders, that the direct supervision and control of the English Crown and Council were invoked in 1495 and revoked by the Rockingham Ministry during the stress of the War of the American Revolution.

The Rule of the Eighth Earl of Kildare, 1496–1513.

§ 6. The partial extension of English Law to Ireland and the destruction of Irish Parliamentary initiative were the lasting results of Poynings' rule; and the latter has made "Poyning's Law" a sounding name in History. But his policy of action against Irish and Anglo-Irish was not sustained. Henry had ventured upon it only because a salutary lesson was needed, and because the French Invasion of Italy had left his hands free for a moment. He could not, however, for the present afford the series of petty wars which its maintenance would entail on the Crown, and so he returned to the policy of trusting the dominant family. Not only amongst the Irish had the Fitzgeralds great influence (§ 3): the Pale itself—Thomas Cromwell was later told—"was so affectionate towards the Geraldines that they covet more to see a Geraldine triumph than to see God come among them."

Henry was astute enough to enlist all this power in his service by allowing Kildare to cover with the authority of the Crown his own private feuds and transactions. That is the substantial truth which underlies the fable of Henry VII.'s reply to the Bishop of Meath: "*All Ireland cannot rule this Earl of Kildare*"—"*Then it is meet that he should rule all Ireland.*" From his restoration to office in 1496 Kildare faithfully served the King—without neglecting the interests of his family. His crushing defeat of the Bourkes and O'Briens of Connaught at Knocktow near Galway in 1497, "taught the Irish, both 'rebels' and 'enemies,' that in their intestinal conflicts victory lay on the side of the English sword" (Walpole). He rebuilt the

castles that protected the Pale and the outlying towns that still remained English; and ultimately, in 1513, he fell in battle against the men of Leix and Ely, and Gerald his son ruled in his stead.

The career of the ninth Earl was a chequered one. Thrice was he summoned to London to give an account of his governorship: twice the increasing confusion which his absence caused demonstrated even to his enemy Wolsey that the predominance of Kildare was the least in the choice of evils. In 1520-22 the Earl of Surrey, the son of the victor of Flodden (Table, p. 202), was sent to replace him, with the full style of Lord-lieutenant: he advocated military repression and colonisation, but was not given the necessary men and money, and so resigned (ch. ii., § 12). Kildare's next term of office, after a short experiment with his rival Ormonde, lasted three years: his refusal to arrest Desmond, the head of the southern Geraldines, who was in treasonable correspondence with Francis I. (1524-26), led to a fresh sojourn in the Tower. In 1529 Henry, Duke of Richmond (ch. iv., § 12), received the title of Lord-lieutenant that his father, Henry VIII., had held during Poynings' time; but his Deputy, Sir William Skeffington, was so unsuccessful that Kildare had to be sent back—at first to help him, after two years to supersede him as Lord-deputy. Kildare's warlike preparations excited suspicion; and in 1534 he was for the last time recalled.

The Rule of the Ninth Earl, 1513-35.

A report having spread across Channel that he was dead —possibly it was disseminated with a deliberate intention of forcing on a rebellion—his eldest son and vice-deputy, known as "Silken Thomas," renounced his allegiance, and headed a revolt against Henry, in which Allen, Archbishop of Dublin, was brutally murdered. The intelligence worried Kildare into an early grave: he had seen too much of English power to have any hopes of his son's success. The event proved him to be right. Skeffington's troops were not so greatly superior to the half-naked and ill-armed kerns and gallowglasses or to the nimble cavalry of his opponent; but before his artillery the imagined impregnability of May-

The Revolt of the Leinster Geraldines, 1535-7.

nooth castle succumbed after a twelve-days' siege, and the garrison, crying for mercy, was granted the famous "Pardon of Maynooth"—a speedy execution. This bloody capture of their stronghold was fatal to the Geraldines. Lord Thomas surrendered in 1536 to Skeffington's old general and successor, Lord Leonard Grey, and after a year's detention was somewhat unfairly hanged. With him died five of his uncles, who had been treacherously seized, though they had taken no part in the rebellion. Only his half-brother remained to preserve the race; and he was brought up by Henry VIII.'s arch-enemy, Cardinal Pole (ch. iv., § 6), through whom he was restored to his titles and property in 1554 to be a loyal subject and to become the ancestor of the present Dukes of Leinster.

The end of Non-Government, 1537.

§ 7. Just about this time, Henry VIII. was, under Cromwell's influence, especially busy with his share of the Tudor task of establishing "governmental consistency" in their dominions (cf. Intro., §§ 14, 15). The Royal Supremacy over the English Church had been regulated and defined; and Wales was being incorporated with England (ch. iii., esp. § 15; ch. iv., § 9). Similarly Ireland was no longer to stand out as an exception: in both its ecclesiastical and its secular constitution it was to be brought into line with England. The rough handling of the Kildare domination was a sign that Henry was at length going to act towards Ireland in the spirit of his own words to his friend Surrey in the days of the latter's Irish governorship:—

"Realms without justice are but tryannies and robberies more consonant to beastly appetites than to the laudable life of reasonable creatures. Where wilfulness doth reign without law or justice there is no distinction of property: no one may say 'This is mine,' but by strength the weaker are oppressed."

Lord Leonard Grey, 1536-40.

The Deputyship of Lord Leonard Grey marked the deliberate beginning of the new era whereof Poynings' Deputyship had been the somewhat flamboyant prelude. "To prepare the minds of the people to obey," remarks Sir John Davies, Grey (like Poynings) "began first with a martial course": the lesson of Kildare's downfall was driven home by two vigorous

campaigns—one in the South and West, the other in the North. In 1536 Grey crushed the O'Connors, the southern Fitzgeralds and the Barrys; then, turning north, he broke down the O'Briens' bridge over the Shannon, and overawed the Bourkes by the capture and permanent occupation of Athlone. He even made an attempt to nip the Scots colonisation of Ulster in the bud; and in 1539 he inflicted a severe blow on the hitherto untouched O'Neils at Belahoe near Armagh. In the following year he found Ireland too hot to hold him, resigned, and went home to be faced with a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Fitzgeralds, especially by conniving at the escape of their heir. His kinship with the family—the ninth Earl of Kildare had, during his second confinement in England, married Grey's sister Elizabeth—brought him into suspicion, which was fanned by his jealous coadjutor Ormonde, and proved strong enough to outweigh his connection with the House of Suffolk * and bring him to the block.

The Beginning of the Irish Reformation, 1537.

§ 8. Grey's greatest work was to give a new turn to the history of the Church in Ireland, which is as wild a tangle as Irish secular history. The idea of having a different Church-polity in different parts of the same prince's dominions was altogether foreign to the Sixteenth Century; and accordingly Grey was commissioned to set about introducing into his province the religious changes wrought in England by the Reformation Parliament (ch. iii., esp. § 15). His first effort was so bitterly opposed in one session that it had to be adjourned, and on the reassembling of Parliament it was announced that the proctors of the clergy (p. 281 *n.*), "being neither members nor parcel of the body of Parliament, were excluded from all voice or suffrage." The Parliament of 1537 proved complaisant enough to carry through replicas of most of the English legislation of 1534:—

(i.) The King was declared Supreme Head of the Irish Church.
(ii.) Appeals to Rome were prohibited.
(iii.) The authority of the Pope in Ireland was declared to be abolished, and the payment of Peter-pence forbidden.

* Lord Leonard Grey's nephew was Henry, third Marquis of Dorset, and Duke of Suffolk—as shown in the Table on p. xiii.

(iv.) First-fruits and thirteen religious houses were, "for the increase of the King's revenue," transferred to the Crown.

As in England, the laity were quite indifferent with regard to the Supremacy, and distinctly in favour of the secularisation of Church-lands, as every one of importance had hopes of a share in the spoil. Amongst the clergy themselves there were two parties: one, headed by Archbishop Browne of Dublin, supporting the King; the other, under two successive archbishops of Armagh, Cromer and Dowdall, doggedly opposing him. As the consequences of the Supremacy grew clearer, the latter became more firm in their resistance: Browne's efforts to "pluck down images and extinguish idolatry and Popish fancies" failed signally, and his reports to Cromwell were of the dismallest. The feeling of religious conservatism to which Silken Thomas had appealed in vain was beginning to be aroused.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries, 1542.

§ 9. These measures were none the less ratified in the notable Parliament of **1542**, which in addition to re-enacting the *Act of Supremacy*, vested in the Crown all religious houses which had, or ought to have, been surrendered. The houses thus dissolved were four hundred in number, having a personalty valued at £100,000, and an annual rental of some £30,000. Though some of the smaller houses served as parish-churches, and part of the revenues of the larger went to a bishops' sustentation fund, the greater part of the spoils went to members of the Council in Dublin and to the Irish chiefs. Of course the monasteries, etc., in the more distant parts of the island fell in only as they came within reach of the English Government, and some survived till well nigh the end of the century.

It is scarcely possible to justify this course of action in Ireland as it is in England. The Irish Church was poor and divided (§ 11). The Archbishop of Dublin's plate was in pawn for eighty years, and the religious buildings were scanty and meagrely furnished. None the less, the religious houses were hardly so much as accused, much less proved guilty, of immorality, and they were "as lamps in the darkness and rivers in a thirsty land." They served as inns and hostels; they did works of charity; the Cister-

cians and Augustinians were the only educators of Ireland; they conducted most of the pastoral work.

For years after the dissolution parishes were left without spiritual ministrations, save those of the wandering priests. Thirty years later Sir Henry Sidney reported that half the churches were vacant, by reason of the benefices attached to them being impropriated to the Crown or its lessees. In the last decade of the century Spenser could still say that the "intellectual part" was neglected, though by that time provision had been made for free schools in every parish, and Trinity College, Dublin, had been founded (1591). It was unfortunate that this last was so richly endowed that instead of actively doing its work of education and evangelisation, it sat still and earned its name "*the Silent Sister*."

Sir Antony Saintleger, 1540-48.

§ 10. The long Deputyship of Sir Antony Saintleger (1540—48) was in every respect a continuation of Grey's rule. The attempt to assimilate Ireland to England was ill-conceived and worse executed in regard of the Church; but was on the secular side most statesmanlike and promising. The hand-to-mouth policy of Non-Government — of leaving Ireland to the Hibernianders—having been given up, there remained the two usual alternatives: either to start from the *status quo* and work upwards; or to uproot existing institutions, and, as far as possible, to start afresh. The "native difficulty" was, as it is to-day in many of our colonies, the knottiest part of the problem. Were they to be exterminated and replaced by more promising settlers? or were they to be in part conciliated, in part coerced into English ways? Henry VIII. was statesman enough to adopt the latter plan, as at once less wasteful, less risky and more merciful; and in Saintleger he found an agent of the requisite skill, judgment and tact, to carry out his ideas.

The Policy of Coercive Conciliation.

Henry's main idea was to win over the chiefs, and to trust for the rest to the enormous personal influence (p. 279) of the chiefs over their septs and tribes. Saintleger was authorised to enter into negotiations with both Irish and English chiefs; and the result was what Davies has called "the Fourth General

Submission of the Irish"—the previous three being those made to Henry II., to John, and to Richard II. Most of the chiefs signed indentures whereby they bound themselves—

to hold their lands by English feudal tenure; to encourage agriculture; to abstain from war on their fellow-subjects; to come to the King's courts of justice; to support the King with a fixed money-tribute and personal service; to attend Parliament; to send their sons to be educated at the English Court; and to renounce the authority of the Pope.

The Invasion of the English Land-System.

These promises were not obtained for nothing. The chiefs were liberally bribed with abbey-lands, and were each given a house in Dublin, in the hope that they would come to Parliament and there "suck in civility with the Court air." They were allowed to retain much of their authority over their tribesmen, and titles of nobility * were showered upon them. There was subtlety in this last move, for the fledgling peerage was, wherever it was deemed feasible, regarded as governed by the English law of descent and inheritance—*i.e.*, by primogeniture, not by *tanistry* (§ 4). To the English lawyer, always impatient, in Scotland and India as in Ireland, of strange forms of land-holding, tanistry was an abomination: it was "no estate, but a transitory and scambling possession." † Still certainty of tenure was sought at the cost of a great injustice when the Irish chief was turned into a landlord on the English model; and those whose tenant-for-life he had formerly been became his tenants-at-will. It is one of the paradoxes of Irish History that the country into which the English land-system was introduced under the impression that it was an unmixed blessing should be the land where its latent evils have first made themselves felt, and that the country which in the early Fifteenth Century knew no occupation of land beyond a lifetime should in the early Nineteenth

* The O'Brien became Earl of Thomond and Baron Inchiquin (with reversion to the Tanaist of Thomond). The McGilapatrick took the name of *Fitz*patrick (cp. Spenser, p. 196), and became Baron of Upper Ossory; the McMurrough took the name of Kavanagh, and became Baron of Ballyan; and the O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone. To the O'Connor, and to the O'Donnel, the titles Baron of Offaly and Earl of Tyrconnel were respectively promised but not formally granted.

† Sir John Davies descants on this subject, *Discovery*, pp. 291-294.

Century have given birth to the aphorism, "*Property has its duties as well as its rights.*" *

This revolution—for it was nothing else—took a dramatic form when, in 1542, Saintleger gathered in Dublin a Parliament, in which, for the first time in such an assembly, Gaelic chief and "Saxon" noble sat side by side, and Ormonde translated the royal address for the benefit of the former. Nor was the business slighter than the occasion. Besides ratifying the *Act of Supremacy* of 1537 and supplying, at the expense of the Church, the funds whereby the new loyalty was secured, this Parliament proclaimed the new importance of the land and strove to obliterate the memory that it had been the gift of the Pope to England, by raising Ireland from the rank of a lordship to that of a kingdom. The transformation of a mere feudal superiority into a real sovereignty was going on in Ireland also as well as in the rest of Europe (Intro., §§ 7—15).

Ireland a kingdom, 1542.

§ 11. The new departure seemed hopeful, and internal peace seemed at last dawning upon Ireland. But this policy of "sober ways, politic drifts, and amiable persuasions, founded on law and reason"—as Henry himself put it—required time: Henry was not allowed time, and his successors would not take time. They impatiently followed the advice of the Irish Council. The result was the ghastly cruelties of Elizabeth's reign, and their long-lived outcome—a deadly hate of the "Saxon," an apparently endless Agrarian Question, and the beginnings of one might almost say certainly endless Religious Hatreds, each contributing to bring forth Political Agitation by fair means or foul. As we have still these Irish Problems before us, it is well worth while to examine with peculiar care the solutions offered from time to time. There seems no reason to doubt that, given that one essential which no Irish Reformer has yet had—Time,—Henry VIII.'s settlement would have turned out successful on the lay side. It was surprisingly sympathetic, and, though by no means free from the common assumption of Englishmen of all genera-

The Jerkiness of Irish History.

* The saying is attributed to Thomas Drummond, Under-Secretary for Ireland, 1815-1840.

tions that what suited England *must* be good everywhere, it was not hopelessly vitiated thereby. But it was bound up with what was, under the circumstances, an impossible revolution in the Church.

Some Differences between the English and the Irish Reformations.

The English Reformation was above all things the overthrowing of a foreign domination (ch. iii., § 15; ch. v., § 12; ch. vi., § 7; ch. vii., § 3): the Irish Reformation was nothing but the establishment of a foreign domination. The eighth Henry's attempt to make the Irish Church conform to the Anglican model was as futile as the second Henry's similar attempt had been. The Synod of Cashel, 1172, whose object was unity, simply created a division between the Church of the Pale and the Church outside; for ecclesiastically the Englishry had no dealings with the Irishry, and each plundered the other's religious foundations without scruple. This division the Parliament of 1542, which also intended unity, simply perpetuated, widened, and hardened in the long run into the bitter sectarianism of Protestant and Roman Catholic as it is this day. He would be a bold man who should either affirm that this was inevitable in any case, or deny that it was avoidable under the circumstances of the revolution.

The Foreignness of the Irish Reformation.

Until Elizabeth's reign no pains were taken to render the changes palatable or persuasive. In England one of the baits was the use of the vulgar tongue in Church services: this was at once an appeal to national sentiment and to reason (ch. iv., § 15). In Ireland the use of the vulgar tongue—whereby alone men could be convinced (as in such matters they needs must be to make obedience to the new laws possible) of the reasonableness of the change—was at first forbidden, and not till too late was it actively encouraged. An Act of Grey's Parliament (1537) enacted that no one should receive ecclesiastical promotion save such as could speak English—unless, after four proclamations in the market-town nearest to the vacant benefice, none so qualified proved to be available. In Edward VI.'s reign, things went a little better. It is true that in 1551 the use of the English Prayer Book of 1549 (ch. v., § 5), and of an English Bible were prescribed: still there was at least a talk of Irish versions, and as it was

"difficult to print or read in Irish," the use of Latin was permitted meanwhile. Long before Irish books were provided,* the Keltic portion of the Church in Ireland had, after so many centuries of resistance, fully thrown in their lot with the Papacy, and become the most Roman of Catholics.

The Course of the Irish Reformation.

The ecclesiastical violence of Edward VI.'s reign practically made the schism inevitable. The Anglicisation of the Church was not rendered more acceptable by such bishops as Curwen of Dublin, and Loftus of Armagh, or by the roughness wherewith innovations were enforced, by the insolence wherewith revered images were torn down, or by the greed wherewith time-honoured shrines, like "seven-steepled Clonmacnoise" on the Shannon, were pillaged (cf. ch. v., § 6). The Bishop of Meath was told, after preaching against the Mass: "The country folk would eat you if they wist how. . . . Ye have more curses than you have hairs on your head." Mary's return to Rome led to no anti-Romanist reaction in Ireland, for there was no persecution—there being none to persecute save a few English refugees.

The reversal of her sister's acts by Elizabeth was simply ignored by the great bulk of the Irish population; and to supply their spiritual wants there grew up a Roman hierarchy, side by side with the Anglican hierarchy that spread with the extension of English rule over Ireland, and remained "established" till 1869. One Church was worked in the main by an English clergy, and was supported by the State; the other Church was worked by the native Irish educated abroad, and was supported by the Papacy; one Church lacked congregations, the other lacked endowments. As the Roman Church emphasised its Catholic aspect, it was natural that the Anglican Church, however Catholic its creed and government, should emphasise its Protestantism. Among the results of this divergence was this: many of the old race of Anglo-Irish, resenting the intrusion of new English settlers and influences, clung to their ancestral worship; identity of religion and community

* A New Testament in 1602; the Book of Common Prayer in 1608; and a version of the Old Testament not till 1685!

of suffering for conscience' sake, finally overcame diversity of race; and comeling and homeling blended into one nation, not as Irish but as Catholics.

The Irish Problem under Elizabeth.

§ 12. The evils that were ultimately to spring out of the setting up of this phantom Protestantism in Ireland did not come into prominence till the following century. There were too many other things to be done in Ireland to allow Elizabeth to pay much attention to the condition of religion there: "if you should know," wrote Spenser apologetically, "a wicked person dangerously sick, having now both soul and body greatly diseased, yet both recoverable, would you not think it evil advertisement to bring the preacher before the physician?" To go a step farther, there were too many other things to be done *outside* Ireland to allow the English Government to attend continuously to its affairs. Elizabeth stood perforce with her eyes glued to the Continent, or immediately around her; and it was only when Ireland became exceptionally restless, or when Spain or the Papacy seemed inclined to use Ireland as a backdoor through which to steal on her, that she could, as it were, kick out behind. The government of Ireland, in fact, suffered the fate of secondary problems: it was not fully studied; and at the times when it was taken seriously in hand it was usually approached with the desperate feeling that "something must be done"—a feeling not conducive to exalted statesmanship.

Defects in the Elizabethan Rule in Ireland.

There were other causes, over and above this pre-occupation of the English Council, for the fitfulness which was the radical fault of Elizabethan rule in Ireland. As Elizabeth had no time to think out an Irish policy for herself, the governors were left to frame their own. The result was not favourable to continuity: many governors went out sans experience; all desired to make their mark, and so were apt each to strike out a new line for himself—if it differed from that of his predecessor, all the better; and most of them were checked in mid-career by being recalled in consequence of some rumour reaching a home-government that was near enough to interfere but too busy to direct. So, too, Elizabeth's frugality not only debarred thoroughness in pursuing any

policy but also, by starving officials from the Lord-Deputy downwards, caused no end of corruption and oppression amongst both soldiers and civilians. Sidney might be able to afford to spend twice his salary on his Irish government: poorer men were driven to pay themselves at the expense of the subjects.

The governmental waywardness which ensued from all these causes would have demoralised the most orderly of nations: on the Irish it had the ruinous effect of giving the welcome impression that, as often as not, they might do what seemed good in their own eyes without serious danger of detection and punishment. Individual offenders were, it was true, often struck at; but fits of violence are a poor substitute for steady vigour. On the other hand, the unending restlessness of the Irish and semi-Irish filled some English politicians with despair: in Spenser's phrase they wished, "that all that land were a sea-pool." Those who did not thus give up the problem of pacifying Ireland gave up Henry VIII.'s solution of that problem—the patient policy of conciliation (§ 10): all plans of anglicising the Irish seemed to fail; would it not be better to clear them out, or at least thin them down, and replace them by Englishmen? This is the view which Shakspere puts into the mouth of Richard II.:—

> "We must supplant these rough rug-headed kerns,
> Which live like venom, where no venom else
> But only they, have privilege to live."
>
> *Richard II.*, Act ii., Sc. i.

The Policy of Extermination and Colonisation, 1558.

§ 13. This policy of "plantation"—*i.e.*, of settling Englishmen on lands whose native owners had been ejected or possibly exterminated—was, however, initiated not by Elizabeth but by Philip and Mary. The first experiment was made in 1558 by their Deputy Thomas Radclyffe, afterwards Earl of Sussex; and the location chosen was in the block of land that lay between the two Geraldine territories, and had never been occupied by Englishmen. The conditions imposed upon the settlers aptly illustrate the objects of the plantation: they were to keep up their English language and customs; to observe English law; to

abstain from Irish marriages and from the "fosterage" of Irish children; to clear the country; to make and maintain communication by roads, fords, and bridges; and to build churches. Nor was this all. Fercal and part of Offaly—the lands of the O'Molloys and the O'Connors—were formed into King's County, and the old O'Connor head-town, Dangen, was renamed Philipstown; whilst the rest of Offaly and Leix—the land of the O'Moores that touched it on the south—was formed into Queen's County, and Campa, the chief town of the O'Moores, was renamed Maryborough. But for the fact that the natives were for the most part expelled from the low grounds and driven up into the woods, and their lands confiscated and planted, the method adopted recalls the treatment of the lands of the Welsh Lords-Marchers by Henry VIII. (ch. iv., § 9). The making of these lands into shire-ground was the visible sign of the introduction of English law and ideas of order. Accordingly, Radclyffe obtained an Act from the Irish Parliament whereby Lord-Deputies should for the future have the power of mapping out counties as from time to time they should think fit; and Davies accounts it one of the clearest indications of English progress in Ireland during the Sixteenth Century, that whereas from the reign of John down to that of Mary the number of counties had remained stationary at twelve, in Elizabeth's reign no less than fourteen were added by Sidney and Perrot.

§ 14. This example of the policy of extermination and colonisation in central Ireland was not immediately followed up by Elizabeth; but her first trouble in Ireland rose out of a suspicion that she intended to take advantage of a disputed succession to carry out some such measures in Ulster. In the patent whereby Con Bacagh O'Neil had in 1542 been created Earl of Tyrone (note, p. 288), the succession had, under the impression that he was a legitimate son, been fixed on Matthew, the Bastard of Dungannon. Even during his father's lifetime Shane (John) O'Neil, Con's eldest legitimate son, had disputed Dungannon's title and had slain him. On Con's death, in 1558, Shane was chosen the O'Neil by his tribesmen, and attacked with success Matthew's eldest

Career of Shane O'Neil, 1556-67.

son Brian and the allies whom the English Lord-Deputy had secured for Brian—the neighbouring tribes of O'Reilly and O'Donnell. Radclyffe himself was defeated in an attempt to crush Shane, near Armagh, and failed in two attempts to get rid of him by assassination. Shane was persuaded to come over to England to urge his claims on the Queen in person; and, as he was a good-looking fellow, he made a favourable impression on Elizabeth. Not however till his rival, the young Baron of Dungannon, had perished of violence in 1561 was he allowed to return—with permission to style himself not only "the O'Neil" but also "Captain of Tyrone." That is to say he was adopted as, for the time, the cheapest substitute for direct government over the North: in the words of the English satirist he became

> "Shane the Proud, Lord of the North of Ireland;
> Cousin of S. Patrick; Friend of the Queen of England;
> Enemy of all the world besides."

Sir Henry Sidney's First Term, 1565—68.

Like the Kildares (§§ 5, 6), the O'Neil played his own little game of plunder and murder, and called it keeping the peace for his Sovereign. Thus in 1564 he crushed the Redshanks, or Scots immigrants into Antrim, on behalf of the Queen. But Sir Henry Sidney, who was Lord-Deputy from 1565 to 1571, had learned from his previous experience under Radclyffe that there was no finality in this policy of setting a thief to catch a thief, and in 1567 marched against the O'Neil to put him down. The English forces under Randolf were routed at Derry; but immediately afterwards Shane himself lost 3000 men in a fight with the O'Donnels at Letterkenny, took refuge with his Scots foes, the McDonnells, and was by them slain in a drunken bout. His head was sent to Sidney "pickled in a pipkin"; and for nearly thirty years the main interest in Irish history is diverted from Ulster (§§ 18-20).

Sidney's Second Term, 1569-71.

§ 15. Sidney thus acted towards a comparatively friendly and order-loving chief like Shane O'Neil because he aimed at putting an end to all that savoured of tribalism, and at substituting the English methods of government by sheriff and by justices

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of assize and of the peace. Accordingly, in his second term of office, he endeavoured to replace the Palatinate jurisdiction of Desmond by establishing a presidency in Munster, supported by the smaller chieftains and by a partial colonisation. Elizabeth preferred to strike in a different way. In 1568 a long-standing lawsuit between Desmond and Ormonde was decided in favour of the latter —he was, by the bye, not only a Protestant but also a connection of the Boleyns (Table, p. 202, note),—and Desmond was summoned to London on a charge of high treason. He surrendered his lands—nearly half Munster—in the hope of appeasing the Queen and receiving them back.

The First Desmond Rebellion, 1569—72.

Rumours of an intended plantation of these lands, and the actual arrival, in 1569, of Sir Peter Carew and other Devonshire gentlemen as settlers, drove Desmond's cousin, Sir James Fitzmaurice, and the Earl of Clancarty, into rebellion. But the rebellion was little more than an interchange of detached sanguinary onslaughts and reprisals, conducted by Sir Edward Fitton, President of Connaught, and Sir Humfrey Gilbert, President of Munster. Sidney grew tired of this, and threw up his appointment in 1571. The task of stamping out the rising was left to Gilbert's successor, Sir John Perrot, who, like Sidney, was inadequately supported. In 1572, however, he induced Fitzmaurice—who, from his lair in the Galtee Mountains, had been making raids all over Ireland, and had even destroyed English garrisons at Athlone and Galway—to give in his submission; and in the following year Desmond was let loose on promising to put down Roman Catholicism in his lands, and soon regained his authority.

Attempted Colonisation of Ulster, 1573-76.

The next important effort to colonise was in Ulster, where Scots settlements had been lately formed with success. It was partly in hopes of checking this rival influence that in 1573 Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, obtained a grant of the district of Clandboy in Antrim, on condition of conquering it and, after four years, paying rent for it. The hostility of the natives, the astuteness of Sir Brian O'Neil, and the severity of the winter were too much for him as a colonist. In 1574

he got himself appointed Governor of Ulster, in which capacity he murdered Sir Brian, and massacred the Scots settlers in Rathlin Island. All this profited him nothing: he was ruined before his death in 1576.

Sidney's Third Term, 1575-79.

§ 16. Before this Sir Henry Sidney had been persuaded to once more resume the Lord-Deputyship. He was expensive—"*that Henry Sidney doth always seek to put us to charge*," Elizabeth had once fumed in her Council; but then he knew his business and was efficient; and besides, despite his former severity, he retained great influence over the Irish. During the four years of his third term of office (1575—1579) he lost ground everywhere. Great dissatisfaction was caused within the Pale by his unsuccessful effort to convert an occasional liability for the maintenance of troops into a regular *cess* or tax fixed at about £2000 a year. And the conduct of Drury and Malby, his presidents in Munster and Connaught, was not exactly conciliatory. Their despatches read like the records of an ancient Assyrian king: here are two samples:—

(*a*) "I marched into their country," wrote Malby in relation to an insurrection of the Bourkes, "with determination to consume them with fire and sword, sparing neither old nor young. I burnt all their corn and houses, and committed to the sword all that could be found."

(*b*) "Touching my manner of proceeding," wrote Sir William Pelham to the Queen a few years later, "it is this: I give the rebels no breath to relieve themselves, but by one of your garrisons or the other to be continually hunted; I keep them from their harvest: I have taken great preys of cattle from them, by which it seemeth that the poor people who lived only upon labour, and fed by their milch cows are so distressed, as they follow their goods, and offer themselves with their wives and children rather to be slain by the army than to suffer the famine that now beginneth to pinch them."

Ireland as England's Back-door: Jesuits and Spaniards.

Little wonder that an island so treated should be thought a good place wherein to attack Elizabeth. To outsiders the feebly frantic efforts of the Irish to recover their old tribal organisation, seemed a national resistance to Protestantism: hence the long-continued activity of both the Spaniards and the Jesuits in Ireland, which began in the year 1579 (ch. viii., §§ 13-15). Spain was, geographically, the natural ally of Ireland among the Continental Powers, for England, wedged in

between Ireland and France, kept these two countries apart. And, besides, at this time France was too much divided in religion herself to lend a helping hand in what purported to be a crusade, and was little disposed to assist Spain at the expense of England. Philip of Spain, on the other hand, was daily becoming more and more able and willing (ch. ix., §§ 1-4): what more fitting than a descent upon the English plantations in Ireland to avenge the intrusion of English sailors into the jealously-guarded Spanish Indies (Intro., § 20)? In 1578 Drake penetrated to the Pacific and plundered the towns on the coast of Chile and Peru (ch. ix., § 2). Much as Philip resented this, he would not yet openly countenance any movement; the Spanish troops which the Irish exile Stukely collected were volunteers rather than royal forces; and even these were diverted by the then Cardinal-King of Portugal (Table, p. 84), to take part in a crusade against the Muhammadan Moors in Africa, where they miserably perished.

§ 17. Sir James Fitzmaurice, however, obtained from the Pope a blessing, some money, and a legate, —Nicholas Sanders, a Jesuit and the author of a vigorous history of *the Origin and Progress of the English Schism*. With these he landed at Dingle in the summer of 1579. Desmond, a "vain man, neither frankly loyal nor a bold rebel," hung back at first; but the murder of two English officers at Tralee by one of his brothers, forced him to arms, and in a moment the whole South was ablaze. The English were taken by surprise. They were used to a sort of *dacoity*: this looked like war. Drury was driven back to die in his head-quarters at Kilmallock, some twenty miles south of Limerick. Malby, after a temporary success marked by the capture of Ashketyn, a Desmond stronghold on the Shannon estuary, thought it prudent to retire to his own Presidency, and the rebels advanced to sack Youghal. With this success the year 1579 closed; but no such success could compensate for the loss of Fitzmaurice, the one man capable of giving some sort of unity to the movement, in a petty skirmish with the Bourkes at Barrington's Bridge, some eight miles east of Limerick (August 18).

The Second Desmond Rebellion, 1579—84.
1. Death of Fitzmaurice, 1579.

The greatness of the danger, synchronising as it did with Parma's progress in the Netherlands (ch. vii., § 12), roused Elizabeth to action. Ormonde, Governor of Munster, and Drury's successor, Pelham, marched through the land in two columns, which met at Tralee. Ormonde claimed to have put nearly 5000 to death: Pelham's report has been already cited (§ 15, extract *b*). In June Ormonde blew up the castle of Ashketyn, and was in September relieved by Lord Grey de Wilton, the new Lord-Deputy—the *Arthegal* of Edmund Spenser the poet, who, with Walter Ralegh, was serving under him. Lord Grey began badly: with the cocksureness of inexperience, he rejected the advice of those who were acquainted with Irish guerilla warfare, and was entrapped in the defile of Glenmalure by Feach M'Hugh, the "Firebrand of the Mountains," who had headed a subsidiary rising in Wicklow to support Lord Baltinglass's movement within the Pale itself. Grey then turned his attention to the West, where some 800 Spanish and Italian troops had recently arrived and taken up a position in the Fort del Oro in the village of "S. Mary Wick, vulgarly called Smerwick." They were, however, quite unable to hold their own when pressed hard, not only by land, but by a small fleet under Admiral Winter. On November 10 the garrison surrendered at discretion: the rank and file were butchered under the direction of Captain Ralegh; the officers were reserved for ransom. Lord Grey's conduct was severely censured, and was vehemently defended by his Secretary.* He gave the same reason for the slaughter that the Spaniards gave for their treatment of whomsoever they found trespassing on their colonial preserves —religion. His words to the captains of the garrison show how utterly unable he was, as a Puritan (ch. viii., §§ 4-6), not merely to sympathise with, but even to endure, the faith in whose support these foreigners had come to Ireland:—

2. Surrender of Smerwick, November 1580.

"That men of account, as some of them made show of being, should be carried into unjust, wicked, and desperate actions, by one that neither from God nor man, could claim any princely power or Empire, but was indeed a detestable shaveling of the anti-Christ and general ambitious tyrant over all principalities, and patron of the diabolical faith, I could not but greatly wonder."

* Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 145-148.

3. Munster as a Desert and as a Colony, 1581-84.

The surrender of Smerwick was the end of the insurrection, though not of the bloodshed. Sanders perished obscurely in 1581; Kildare died in the Tower; Desmond was betrayed and killed as he lay abed in 1584; Clanricarde, head of the Bourkes, fell about the same time. Some 500,000 Irish acres were confiscated and leased out to Englishmen, mostly courtiers, on quit rents of a penny per acre. Thus Ralegh received 42,000 acres, Hatton 10,000, Spenser 3000; all upon conditions that they would introduce a certain number per acre of English peasants and artisans, and would not suffer the ejected Irish to return. None the less, as Englishmen were not found in sufficient numbers, the Irish were allowed to come back: there was no other way to re-people the wilderness which the pen of Spenser, himself an eye-witness, has depicted for us in a notorious passage:—

"Notwithstanding that Munster was a most rich and plentiful country, full of corn and cattle, that you would have thought they should be able to stand long, yet ere one year and a half they were brought to such wretchedness as that any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death; they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat the dead carrions, happy where they could find them; yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves; and if they found a plot of watercresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue there withal; that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man and beast; yet, sure, in all that war there perished not many by the sword, but all by the extremity of famine which they themselves had wrought." [*View of the State of Ireland*, pp. 143-4.]

Sir John Perrot, 1584-88.

§ 18. Sir John Perrot, who had, in the subordinate capacity of President of Munster (§ 15), learnt from Sidney that it was possible to be moderate without being weak, firm without being cruel, stepped into Lord Grey's position in 1584, and attempted to replace all this rough handling by gentle methods of reform. He had read one of the secrets of the Irish character, and knew that personal geniality in a governor went for more with them than the most solemn-faced official justice. The result was twofold: four years afterwards he was summoned home

on the charge of treasonable intrigues with the Irish and with Spain, and died in the Tower; and in our own day he has been called (by Professor Goldwin Smith) "the best and most honourable of the governors during the Tudor Period." The only permanent mark he left on Ireland was the division of Ulster into seven shires; but it was a paper-partition only, as he had no time to follow it up by the introduction of the practical working of the English shire-system.

Perrot's successor was in all respects a contrast to him. Sir William Fitzwilliam had all the Hibernian der's contempt for the native Irish, and affection for the worst features of native Irish polity. By an impartial distribution of acts of partiality in the administration of justice, he created a deep sense of insecurity all over Ireland. Everywhere the Irish were made to feel that the tenure of their lands was liable to be attacked at any moment, and the only things wanted to produce an armed rising on behalf of the vanishing tribalism, which seemed their only safeguard against spoliation, were a leader and foreign support. Fitzwilliam managed to call into existence a leader in the person of Hugh O'Neil, second son to the Bastard of Dungannon (§ 14), who was in 1587 acknowledged in England as the second Earl of Tyrone. Hugh was, unlike Shane, more English than Irish; he had fought under the banners of the Queen in the Desmond troubles; and he was married to an English wife, the daughter of Sir Henry Bagenal. He consequently knew well the might of England, and would apparently have died a loyal subject had he been sure of loyal treatment. But from the day when his brother-in-law, "Red Hugh," of the family of O'Donnell, was treacherously kidnapped by Fitzwilliam, his suspicions were excited; and in 1595, on the death of his uncle Turlough, he proclaimed, by assuming the royal title of "the O'Neil," that he meant to fight.

Sir William Fitzwilliam, 1581-94.

§ 19. "All have their ears upright, waiting when the watchword shall come," wrote Spenser in 1596, "that they should all arise generally into rebellion, and cast away the English subjection." Spenser divined quite rightly: Hugh O'Neil had organised no mere provincial riot, or cluster of riots,

National Uprising under Hugh O'Neil, 1597-8.

but a national uprising; and he held out to Philip II. of Spain the hope "to restore the faith of the Church and to secure to the king a Catholic kingdom." Unfortunately for him, the death of Philip II. threw back the Spanish aid till too late; but, as the Irish troops were for the first time well armed, and the English forts happened to be out of gear, the Irish movement opened brilliantly. In 1597 there was much skirmishing round the Blackwater which forms the southern boundary of Tyrone. He captured the Blackwater Fort, but allowed it to be recaptured by Lord-Deputy Burgh, who died shortly afterwards.

Lord-Lieutenancy of the Earl of Essex, 1599.

On August 14, 1598, the O'Neil won a great victory over his father-in-law at the Yellow Ford on the River Callan: Bagenal and 1500 of his troops fell, and the rest tumbled back helter-skelter to Dundalk, leaving their guns, ammunition, and standards behind. The success at once won over all Ireland to the victor: the O'Donnells, Bourkes, the remnant of the men of Leix and Offaly, the O'Sullivans in the extreme south-west, the O'Byrnes and the Kavanaghs in the extreme south-east, all joined in a confederacy under the O'Neil; and the heir to the Desmonds assumed the title Earl of Desmond—the "Sugane Earl," or "Earl of Straw," he was afterwards called—and acknowledged that he held his lands of the O'Neil. Elizabeth at once threw aside thoughts of economy and temporising, and sent over a well-equipped force of 20,000 foot and 1300 horse under the command of the Earl of Essex, as Lord-Lieutenant. His recent capture of Cadiz (ch. ix., § 11) had made all men believe him a great general. Instead of striking immediately, while his army was still fresh, at the O'Neil himself, Essex made a roundabout march through the South without effecting anything in particular; and when at length he reached the North, the O'Neil cajoled him into a *tête-à-tête* parley on the River Lagan, and obtained a truce and provisional pacification.

Lord Mountjoy, 1600-3: 1. Siege of Kinsale, 1601.

§ 20. "To trust this traitor upon oath is like trusting the devil upon his religion"—that was men's verdict upon Essex's sweet reasonableness in listening to the O'Neil. He rushed home to explain it all to the Queen herself (ch. ix., § 12); but in

February 1600 he was superseded by Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy. Mountjoy made it his business to find out, not how he might appease the possibly legitimate dissatisfaction of subjects, but how to crush a rebellion; and this he did by establishing garrisons at convenient points, whence incessant raids were made by flying columns until the inhabitants submitted. The back of the rising was already broken when, on September 20, 1601, Don Juan d'Aguilar disembarked from his fleet of fifty ships some 5000 Spanish troops, and with them occupied Kinsale. Three days later Sir George Carew, President of Munster and at a later time the historian of these events in his *Hibernia Pacata*, began to besiege the town. Mountjoy concentrated all his troops on the siege; on December 23 he beat off with heavy loss the onslaught which the O'Neil made on him with the most powerful Irish army that had ever yet been brought together, and with the aid of the 2000 Spanish reinforcements that had landed hard by at Castlehaven; and shortly afterwards the Spaniards were allowed to evacuate the town and return home.

In the course of 1602 the country was subdued piecemeal; but it was not till March 18, 1603, that the O'Neil himself formally submitted to Mountjoy at Mellefont, and in return for his abjuration of his native title and his promise not to intrigue with foreigners, he was restored to his earldom.

2. Submission of the O'Neil, March 18, 1603.

Six days after Tyrone's submission, Queen Elizabeth died, leaving her successor in very truth what her father had formally styled himself sixty years before—king of Ireland. Much was still to be done in pacifying the country; and much actually was done that had best been left undone. The Tudors had—however clumsily, brutally and imperfectly—raised themselves from the position of Paramount Power in the island to Sovereign Power. The history of this achievement has inevitably fallen into the one formula of all Irish history: "If such and such a policy had been continued, . . . Ireland would probably have ceased to be—to adopt an Elizabethan conceit—the 'Land of Ire,' and have developed into a peaceable kingdom, . . . but——"

Tudor Work in Ireland.

Voyages and Settlements of the Sixteenth Century.

European Voyages.	Settlements, Conquests, Literature.	English Voyages.
1484. Diego Cam (P.), (with Martin Behaim) discovers River Congo.	1485. Christopher Columbus arrives in Spain from Portugal.	
1486. **Bartholomew Diaz** (P.), rounds Cape of Good Hope.		
1492-3. **Columbus's** $\left(\frac{S.}{I.}\right)$ first voyage: Palos to San Salvador (Aug. 3—Oct. 12), and Hispaniola.	1492. Martin Behaim's *Nuremberg Globe.*	
1493-4. Columbus's second voyage: along south coast of Cuba and Jamaica.	1493. Hispaniola conquered (S.): Pope Alexander VI.'s apportionment of the New World—amended by Treaty of Tordesillas, 1494.	
1497-8. **Vasco da Gama** (P.), *viâ* "Natal" and Melindè, reaches Kálikat.		1497. John $\left(\frac{E.}{I.}\right)$ and Sebastian **Cabot** discover Newfoundland and Cape Breton Island.
1498-1500. Columbus's third voyage: *viâ* Cape Verde and Trinidad; sights S. America Aug. 1, 1499.		
1499. **Amerigo Vespucci** $\left(\frac{S.}{I.}\right)$ in Venezuela; Alonzo Pinzon (S.), discovers Brazil.		1498. The Cabots, sailing *viâ* Iceland, discover Labrador [said to be the region named *Vinland* by Leif the Lucky, *c.* 1000 A.D.]
1500. Vespucci's second voyage. Alvares Cabral (P.) blown to Santa Cruz (Brazil); B. Diaz perishes off Cape of Good Hope. Cortoreal (P.) names Labrador.		
1501. Vespucci's third voyage $\left(\frac{P.}{I.}\right)$		
1502-4. Columbus's fourth voyage: sails along Honduras; wrecked on Jamaica.		
1503. V. da Gama's second expedition.		
1504. Alfonso and Francesco Albuquerque (P.), to India.	1504. Duarte Pacheco (P.) defeats the Zamorin of Kálikat.	

Note.—The formula $\frac{S}{I}$ = "Italian in the service of Spain." In similar formulae, P. = *Portuguese*; F. = *Frenchman*; E. = *Englishman*. P.V. = *Portuguese Viceroy in India*.

World (?).

1509. Portuguese reach Sumatra.

1511. Portuguese visit Java; **A.** Dahren sights New Guinea.

1513. Serrão and Magalhães (Magellan) reach the Moluccas.
Ponce de Leon (S.) visits Florida.
Nuñez de Balboa wades in Pacific.

1514. Juan Diaz de Soles (S.), seeking the S. Sea, discovers La Plata.

1518. Lorenzo de Gomez visits Borneo.

1519-22. First circumnavigation: begun by **Magellan** ($\frac{S.}{P.}$) (who is killed at Matan in Ladrones) and finished by **Sebastian del Cano** in the *Victoria*.

1523. Verazzano ($\frac{F.}{I.}$) sails to West Indies.

1526. Portuguese visit New Guinea.

1527. Bermudes (S.) discovers the islands named after him.

1528-9. Narvaez and Cabeza sail from Florida past the R. Mississippi.

1534-5. **Jacques Cartier** (F.) sails up River St. Lawrence to Montreal.

1539-42. De Soto (S.) tramps through Florida to the mid-Mississippi River.

1542. Portuguese reach Japan.

1509. Francesco Almeyda, first Portuguese Viceroy in India.

1507. Waldseemüller suggests name *AMERICA*.

1508. Venetian-Egyptian Fleet fighting Portuguese in Eastern waters.

1509. **Albuquerque** (2nd P.V.) occupies Ormuz, and attempts Aden.

1510. Albuquerque captures Goa.

1511. Albuquerque captures Malacca, and sends envoys to Siam.
Spanish Council of the Indies established; Cuba settled.

1512. Sp. *s.* at St. Augustine (Florida).

1515. Albuquerque is superseded and dies.

1519-21. **Hernando Cortes** conquers Mexico.

1519. Enciso (S.) writes *Suma de Geografia*.

1525-35. **Francesco Pizarro** conquers Peru.

1530. V. da Gama (P.V.) occupies Bombay.

1535. Buenos Aires *s.* by Mendoza (S).

1537. Suleiman's fleet defeated off Diu by P.

1540. Santiago founded by S. : Chile.

1541. Gerard Mercator's first projection.

1542. Charles I.'s New Laws for New Spain; **Francis Xavier** to India.

1545. Martin Cortes' *Arte del Navigacion*.

1545-8. Juan de Castro, P.V.

1517. Sebastian Cabot in search of a North-West Passage to India.

1527. Voyage of Albert de Prado to Newfoundland.

1530. William Hawkins to the Brazils.

1536. Hore's Voyage to Newfoundland.

Voyages and Settlements of the Sixteenth Century—*continued.*

European Voyages.	Settlements, Conquests, Literature.	English Voyages.
1546. Ortiz de Reva (S.) names New Guinea.	1549. Xavier to Japan. 1552. Xavier dies in China. 1553. Richard Eden translates Sebastian Munster's *Treatise on the New India* [America]. 1555. R. Eden translates Peter Martyr's *Decades of the New World.* 1561. R. Eden translates *Martin Cortes.* 1562. Jean Ribaud (F.) settles in "Carolina." 1564. Laudonnière (F.) settles in Florida; destroyed by Spaniards, who re-occupy St. Augustine ["the oldest town in U.S.A.," as Santa Fé (1582) is the second oldest]. 1568-72. Luiz de Ataïde, P.V. 1569. Gerard Mercator perfects his projection. 1571. Spain occupies Manila, in Philippine Islands. 1573. William Bourne's *Regiment of the Seas.* 1574. Gilbert's *Discourse to Prove a Passage by the North-West to Cathay and the East Indies.* 1578. **Sir Humfrey Gilbert** obtains a Charter for Plantations. Dutch settle in Guayana. 1582. Richard Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages Touching the Discovery of America.*	1548. Sebastian Cabot returns to England from Spain; made *Grand Pilot.* 1553. **Willoughby's** voyage to Archangel (*d*). 1555. **Chancellor's** voyage to Archangel (*d*). 1557. Stephen Burrough's voyage. 1562-3. **John Hawkins'** first voyage to Indies: begins Slave Trade. 1564-5. Hawkins' second voyage. 1565-6. **Francis Drake's** first voyage to Indies, under John Lovell. 1567-9. Hawkins' third voyage: with Drake in the *Judith.* The incident at Vera Cruz, Sept. 1568. 1570. Drake's 2nd voyage } Pre- 1571. Drake's 3rd voyage } paratory. 1572-3. Drake's fourth voyage: seizes Nombre de Dios, July 1572; sees Pacific Feb. 11, 1573, and reaches Panama. 1575. **John Oxenham** launches a pinnace in Pacific (*d.*) 1576. *North-West Passage*: Frobisher's first voyage: reaches "Meta Incognita" and Frobisher's Str. 1577. *North-West Passage*: Frobisher's second voyage. 1577-80. Drake's circumnavigation: Dec. 13—Sept. 26; starts with five ships; arrives back with the *Pelican*, renamed *Golden Hind.*

1583. Gilbert's Letters-Patent transferred to **Sir Walter Ralegh.**
1584. Ralegh's first colony to Virginia (Barlow and Amidas).
1585. Ralegh's second colony (Roanoke) under Lane.

1587. Ralegh's third colony (Croatoan) under John White.
1588. Thomas Hariot's *Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia.*
1589. Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations and Voyages.*
Ralegh transfers his Plantations Patent to a Company.

1588. **The Spanish Armada.**

1594. *N.E. Passage* : first Dutch attempt; Barents sails along N.W. Linschoten along S.E., coast of Novaia Zemlia.
1595. *N.E. Passage*: second Dutch attempt; Heemskerck and Barents discover Spitzbergen.
1595. First Dutch voyage to East Indies; Cornelius Houtman reaches Java.
1596-7. *N.E. Passage* : third Dutch attempt, and winter at Ice Haven, 76° N. latitude.
1598-1600. Second Dutch voyage to East Indies (John Davys with it) : Houtman dies.
1598-1601. First Dutch circumnavigation, by Oliver van Noort.

1594. Davys's *Seamen's Secrets.*
1595. Davys's *World's Hydrographical Description.*

1597. Edward Wright explains Mercator's Projection (*sub* 1541).

1600. Dec. 31. First English East India Company receives Charter.
1602. March. Dutch East India Company receives Charter.

1583. Gilbert goes down in the *Squirrel.*
1585-6. Drake takes Santiago (Cape Verde), St. Domingo, and Cartagena.
1585. *N.-W. Passage* : John Davys's first voyage.
1586. *N.-W. Passage* : Davys's second voyage.
1586-88. Thomas Cavendish's circumnavigation.
1587. *N.-W. Passage* : Davys's third voyage, reaching "Sanderson's Hope"; Drake at Cadiz (April).

1589. The Portugal Voyage of Drake and Norris.
1590. Atlantic Voyage of Hawkins and Frobisher.
1591. Sir R. Grenville in the *Revenge.*
1591-3. Voyage of Davys and Cavendish: discover Falkland Islands.
1591-4. First Eng. voyage to E. Indies; James Lancaster reaches Malacca in *Edward Bonaventure.*
1594-5. Lancaster sacks Pernambuco.
1595-6. The last voyage of Drake and Hawkins; Ralegh's voyage to Guayana.
1596. Essex, Howard, and Ralegh take Cadiz.
1597. The Island Voyage of Ralegh and Essex.

1601-3. E. I. C.'s first voyage (to Achin): under Lancaster and Davys.
1602. Gosnold pioneers' Azores route to Virginia.
1609. First English voyage to Hindustán: Hawkins.

CHIEF VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES, 1400–1700 A.D.

DIRECTIONS.—The chief voyages are shown roughly by *dotted* lines. The names of navigators are printed in *letters sloping backwards*. The dates are of *first discoveries*, except where otherwise indicated. Coastlines and rivers shown dotted were unknown to Europeans at the end of the sixteenth century. Philip II.'s dominions (Spanish and Portuguese) are *shaded*.

CHAPTER XI.

TUDOR ENGLAND.

Governmental, Social, and Economic Aspects.

§ 1. Some points of likeness and unlikeness between the Tudor "Despotism" and the Victorian "Democracy."—§ 2 (*a*) Church and State.—§ 3 (*b*) "Rights" of the Individual: Religious Liberty; Freedom of Discussion in Speech or Print.—§ 4. Personal Freedom, and some Tudor methods of violating it.—§ 5 (*c*) The Government: King and Council *v.* Prime Minister and Cabinet. –§ 6 (*d*) The Parliament: the relation of the two Houses to the Crown: their powers and privileges.—§ 7 (*e*) The Nation: the share of different classes in the work of government, and the stratification of society. —§ 8. Economic Features of the Period: Comfort, Capital, and Competition.—§ 9. Country-Life: (*a*) Enclosures: the effect on the Farmer of the Transition from Tillage to Pasturage.—§ 10 (*b*) Effect of the Transition on the Peasant: Vagabondage and the Poor-Law.— § 11. Town-Life: the Decay of the Gild Organisation of Industry, and the Development of Manufactures.—§ 12. Sea-Life: (*a*) Expansion of English Commerce. - § 13. (*b*) Navigation, Raiding, and Colonisation. —§ 14. Royal and National Islandism.

Tudor Despotism and Victorian Democracy: 1. Contrasts.

§ 1. We are wont to label the Victorian Period of English History the "Age of Democracy," and the Tudor Period the "Age of Despotism." By this distinction we do not mean that three hundred years ago, one man, the King, could do precisely what he liked—that nowadays, all men, "the People," can do precisely what they like. We mean rather that, to-day, the principle *that all government must ultimately rest on public opinion* is more frankly and fully recognised; and that, with a view to whittling down that "ultimately" as far as possible, the mechanism of government has been to a great extent adapted to express quickly the changes in public opinion. The different conception in the two ages

of the fundamental principles of government results in two utterly different systems of government: the old names are for the most part kept up, but the things denoted thereby stand in quite other relations one to another. In the Tudor Period, the nation was governed by a Sovereign, who was appointed almost automatically (by hereditary descent, but with undefined possibilities of variation), and who had absolute discretion in the choice of instruments: nowadays, the nation governs itself under one who bears the name of "Sovereign" (and who is appointed quite automatically under the terms of the *Act of Settlement*, 1701), through various central and local officials, who are all more or less directly appointed and removed at its pleasure.

2. Resemblances.

Tudor Despotism and Victorian Democracy, poles asunder in governmental machinery though they be, have yet a similar origin and a similar spirit of self-confidence. Both represent a reaction against aristocratic rule—in the one case that of the Fifteenth-Century feudal baronage, in the other case that of the Eighteenth-Century territorial oligarchy; and both have an almost unlimited belief in the capacity of the State to do all things for all men. How the present state of things came about is no concern of ours in this place: how the Tudor Constitution came into being we have already traced (Intro., §§ 1-4; Table, p. 54, *sub* A). How that Constitution worked we have shown in outline (Intro., §§ 28, 29; Table, pp. 54-57, *sub* B). Let us now take a glance round Tudor England in order to understand more fully, by reference to the familiar surroundings of to-day, some at least of the aspects of the system thus outlined.

i. Church and State.

§ 2. The most striking contrast between government then and government now, is in the sphere of Religion. To-day, religion is practically regarded as a *personal* matter—we are all what in the Australian Religious Census are called *Go-as-you-pleasers:* in Tudor times, religion was almost universally regarded as a *communal* matter. The Church was the nation organised for the service of God, and for the expression of God's will towards men; the State was the nation organised for temporal protection and improvement: these two were one; and all the Tudors,

whatever their profession or machinery, really acted as heads of both. Moreover, the elimination of the double headship of the Church (ch. iii., §§ 2, 15), caused the addition of further machinery to assimilate the ecclesiastical to the lay government. In Convocation the Church had long had a kind of ecclesiastical Parliament (in which laymen were unrepresented, just as the bulk of the nation were unrepresented in the secular Parliament): to this was now added a Court of High Commission (ch. viii., § 16), which exercised the judicial and administrative functions of the Royal Supremacy, even as the Privy Council did the similar work of the Royal Prerogative.

Where is the Royal Supremacy now?

Two things have happened in this sphere since the sixteenth century: the mechanical unity of the Church has disappeared—entirely as a fact, almost as a theory; and the Royal Supremacy—which, after 1534 at least, was the most substantial guarantee of that unity, and which took the shapes summarised on p. 57 (Table C, II.)—has been successively repudiated by different sets of Nonconformists (Romanists, Dissenters, and Methodists, etc.), and successfully transformed, so far as concerns the Church which still formally retains it, from a constant personal control by the King, to an occasional interference by the ministers of the Crown or by Parliament. We have already gone over the grounds of action and the lines of resistance in the three main facts of the Church-history of England in the sixteenth century: the sharpening and definition of the Royal Supremacy in the cause of national independence (ch. iii., esp. § 15; ch. vii., §§ 4, 5); the attacks on that Supremacy from all sides in the cause of religious principle (ch. viii., §§ 1-8); and the various attempts to "reform the Church" (Intro., §§ 21-26; ch. ii., §§ 1, 2; ch. iv., §§ 2, 3, etc.). It was in this region that the divine right of the *status quo* was first successfully assailed.

ii. "Rights" of the Individual: 1. "Religious Liberty."

§ 3. "That it may please Thee to bless and keep the Magistrates, giving them grace to execute justice and to maintain truth." So runs one of the petitions in the Anglican Litany, bearing witness to the fact that, in the Tudor times when it was composed, the maintenance not only of

peace, but of truth also, was counted among the functions of Government. There were two methods in use: the positive one of teaching truth, and the negative one of repressing error. Of these methods the former now survives,—though not with the object of "maintaining truth," in the Tudor sense of the words,—only in the Governmental surveillance of Education. The repression of what was esteemed error took various forms. There was the punishment of those who erred in religious doctrine—"heretics": by burning under the first four Tudors (ch. iv., §§ 2, 10, 11; ch. v., § 13; ch. vi., §§ 7, 8); by the milder disciplinary system of Courts of High Commission under Elizabeth. Finally, there were attempts to secure the prevention or the punishment of the propagation of secular as well as religious error by speaking, by writing, or by that prolific means which was coming into general use at the beginning of the period —the Printing-Press (Intro., § 19, p. 33).

2. "Freedom of Discussion."

Freedom of Discussion on the Platform or through the Press, and Religious Liberty,—which are often regarded nowadays as "rights," inherent in every individual,—were almost inconceivabilities in Tudor times. To-day, a man may say, write, print, what he please,—subject to certain penalties if a jury of his peers consider that he has, by so doing, come within the scope of the vague laws against Libel, Blasphemy, and Sedition. In Tudor times to allow people to think and *say* what they liked, would have seemed—in many cases rightly—as absurd and as suicidal as to let people *do* what they liked. Unorderedness seemed to imply disorder; and anarchy, or absence of rule, was not accounted by any one of consideration to be a possible ideal of government. Accordingly, we find at first the Church, as the custodian of all knowledge (Intro., § 19, p. 31), later the Crown, partly in virtue of the Supremacy, partly as the guardian of public order, endeavouring not only to punish, but also to prevent beforehand, the dissemination of opinions which they believed to be false and wrong.

Tudor Press-Laws.

The Press in particular was curbed both by restrictions on the number of printing-presses, and by the censorship of what was meant to be printed. In Mary's reign the monopoly of printing was granted to the

Stationers' Company. In 1585 very stringent regulations were issued by the Star Chamber, in order to restrain "the enormities and abuses of persons professing the art of printing and selling books" (cf. ch. viii., § 16):—

(i.) *Monopoly:* lawful printing was confined to certain registered presses at London, Oxford and Cambridge.

(ii.) *Censorship:* except in the case of certain publications of the Queen's-printer, and of Law-printers (who were subject to the censorship of one of the Chief Justices), nothing was to be published without the "licence" of the Archbishop of Canterbury, or the Bishop of London.*

3. The Liberty of the Subject.

§ 4. If Freedom of Conscience and Freedom of Discussion were in Tudor times so far from being acknowledged as "rights," that they were scarcely considered even possible or desirable, yet another individual "right," though in a way recognised, was hardly less at the mercy of the State. The Right to Personal Freedom dates back at least as far as the *Great Charter* of 1215: "no freeman may be arrested, imprisoned, dispossessed of his property, deprived of the protection of the law, driven into exile, or in any way destroyed *except by the lawful judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land.*" Legally, a man might not be arrested without due warrant being shown,† and might not be kept in confinement without his case being investigated and decided against him; and if wrongfully detained in spite of these provisions, might sue for redress against the officials concerned. Practically, these securities were in Tudor times broken through for the sake of the public weal: "the State is in danger, and we *must* have the power to keep possible mischief-makers in custody," was then the habitual, as it is still the occasional, cry of the Government.

There were three chief ways in which the Crown strained its Judicial Powers in its own defence.

a. Manipulation of the Common-Law Courts.

The first was the manipulation of trials in the ordinary courts of Common Law. It was not always that judges acted, or were expected to act, in the spirit inculcated by Mary on a new-made judge:—

* For some instances of the punishment of opinion in various forms, see ch. iii., § 13; iv., §§ 2, 10, 15; v., § 13; vi., §§ 7, 8; vii., §§ 6, 15; viii., § 12, p. 249. For some general comments on the development and present aspects of the principle of *Freedom of Discussion* in England, see Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, ch. vi., vii.

† *Article XXXIX.* of John's Charter: for the exposition of the right, and the history of the practical securities devised to maintain it, see Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, ch. v., or any Constitutional History.

"I charge you, sir, to render impartial justice; and to remember that in causes wherein the Crown is a party, I will that all that is in favour of the subject may be admitted and heard. For you sit there not as my advocate, but as judge between me and my people."

Or, again, a jury was sometimes punished for refusing to convict a State-prisoner: the most notorious instance is the imprisonment and fining of such of the jury as declined to apologise for their acquittal of Nicholas Throgmorton, on the charge of participation in Wyatt's rising, 1554 (ch. vi., § 4). But on the whole the judges, though removable at the pleasure of the King,* seem to have been impartial, and the Privy Council to have exercised aright its function as Ministry of Justice. There are too few examples of the abuse of the machinery of Justice for political purposes to justify Hallam's opinion, that at this time "in cases of treason the courts were little better than caverns of murderers."

b. Extraordinary Tribunals.

Secondly, there were erected or revived, side by side with the courts of Common Law, extraordinary tribunals which, though established for reasons of public utility, sometimes trampled on private rights to suit royal, or even official, convenience. The Star Chamber gave protection against feudal oppression (ch. i., § 12), the Council of the North against religious disturbances (ch. iv., § 6), the Council of Wales against agrarian troubles; but all these courts had such extensive powers and such privacy in procedure that it was at times difficult for an innocent man to evade their clutches or secure redress for wrongful treatment. Moreover, the members of the Privy Council gradually assumed a power of imprisoning obnoxious persons at pleasure, without showing just cause for their detention: this practice was contrary to the Common Law; yet was it not, in principle, condemned in the memorial against it addressed to Lord Chancellor Hatton in 1591, and known as *the Remonstrance of the Judges*:—

(i.) *The Petition:* "that subjects may not be committed or detained in prison by commandment of any nobleman or Councillor against the laws of the Realm, to the grievous danger and oppression of Her Majesty's subjects."

* That is, technically, *durante placito*. Since the *Act of Settlement*, 1701, the formula has been *quamdiu se bene gesserint:* judges can be removed only on the joint address of both Houses to the Crown.

(ii.) *Modes of Illegal Commitment:* (*a*) Imprisonment for suing ordinary actions and suits at the Common Law against illegally privileged persons; (*b*) Commitment upon the Queen's writ, no cause sufficient having been certified or returned; (*c*) Recommitment of such persons, after their lawful discharge, to secret places not in the custody of the Sheriff—"so as upon complaint made for their delivery the Queen's Court cannot learn to whom to award Her Majesty's writ [of *Habeas Corpus*], without which justice cannot be done"; (*d*) Imprisonment of the officials of the Common-Law Courts for the lawful discharge of their duty.

(iii.) *Judicial Sanction of Governmental Arrests* [when it is quite clear that there is no merely official abuse or *personal* spite in the matter]: "we think that if any person shall be committed *by Her Majesty's special commandment, or by order from the Council-board*, or for treason touching Her Majesty's person, which causes being generally returned into any Court is good cause for the same Court to leave the person committed in custody."

c. Martial Law.

Thirdly, there was another method of infringing the Liberty of the Subject which, like this last, became chronic under the Stuarts, and so was put down by Parliament—the trial of civil persons by martial law. Apparently this method was used by the Tudors only in times of genuine disturbance, like 1536-7 and 1569-70 (ch. iv., § 5; ch. vii., § 18).

iii. The Government: the personal power of the Crown.

§ 5. "*Tout fuit in luy et tout vient de luy al commencement*" is a lawyer's maxim concerning the Crown which, whatever its value as the expression of historical fact, is to-day a legal fiction: in Tudor times it still remained the working hypothesis of the English Constitution. The Tudor Kingship actually was what the Kingship in legal theory still is—the fountain of all honour and power: the King was not, as now, the symbol of the unity of a great Empire but the person who, within the narrow limits of England and Ireland, set things going and kept them going. The Tudor Kingship "came into power"—as we say of the Ministry which is its analogue in our constitution to-day—to supply a long-felt want—domestic peace: it remained in power as the trusted preserver of internal order and external security, as the successful champion of complete English independence, and as the leader of the race to new homes and activities across the sea (Intro., §§ 4, 20, 28). The Tudor kings were monarchs indeed—"sole rulers," exercising a full discretionary

authority which was almost unchallenged just because, to take another phrase from our present political vocabulary, "they possessed the entire confidence of their party"—*viz.*, the nation.

The Kingship as Divinity.

But, over and above the nation's well-tried belief in their capacity, the Tudor kings had sources of strength which the modern Ministry that governs in their stead has not: they were protected not only by such far-reaching weapons as the law of Treason on the secular, the law of Praemunire on the ecclesiastical, side, but also by a strong sentiment of sacro-sanctity—such as Shakspere * expresses when he puts into the mouth of his King Richard II. the words :—

> "Not all the water in the rough rude sea
> Can wash the balm off from an anointed king:
> The breath of worldly men cannot depose
> The deputy elected by the Lord."

Such a sentiment quickly fades away before critical analysis, but none of the five Tudor kings made themselves unpopular enough to give rise to such analysis; and they were able to hand on the sentiment unimpaired for the Stuarts to work to death as a theory stretched to cover every personal caprice. Viewed in this light the dynasty might well seem to live up to its family name of Tudor—Theodore—"gift of God!"

Crown and Ministry: Governing and Reigning.

Our coins tells us that Victoria is Queen and rules as Queen "by the grace of God"; but we have ceased to believe it, and the vanishing of the halo of mystery round the Crown has been accompanied by a total change in the machinery of government. The Kingship still goes on—but it is the fly-wheel that steadies, not the engineer that drives, the machinery. The true monarch, the single person who to-day directs the general course of government as a whole is the Prime Minister; but, unlike him, the Tudor monarch was "in" for life—not merely for just so long as he "gave entire satisfaction"; chose his own ministers without any of those party-limitations which restrict the Prime Minister's choice of his colleagues; told them what to do, and sent

* *Richard II.*, Act III., Sc. ii. (where "worldly" = *temporal, secular*, as opposed to *spiritual, ecclesiastical*). For a similar sentiment cf. *Hamlet*, Act III., Sc. iii., and Beaumont and Fletcher's *Valentinian*, and *King or no King*.

them about their business with a flea in their ear if they would not do it (cf. ch. ii., § 17); where the Tudor King could order, the Premier can only persuade. In a word, the unity of the Tudor administration centred in obedience to the personal will of the monarch, who was also King, while the unity of any Victorian administration centres on the general will of the party which has the majority in the House of Commons, as embodied in the monarch, who is only Prime Minister. Hence in Tudor times it was at Court, now it is in politics, that men who hoped to be ministers of the Crown sought to attract notice and favour: the Court had then a direct influence not only, as now, on Society, but also on Government; and the Palace rather than, as now, the Parliament, was the centre both of political business and political intrigue. How far we have travelled is perhaps best indicated by an everyday phrase of ours which has no more place in the Tudor era than Pears' Soap or a steam-engine: we commonly speak of the Queen's Government as "the Liberal Government" or even as "Mr. Gladstone's Government."

The powers of the Government.

"The Government" means in Tudor times the King and his Council—especially the King: to-day it means either (*a*) that particular committee of the Council which is called the Ministry, or (*b*) its inner circle the Cabinet, or (*c*) the Ministry *plus* the permanent officials. If there has been a vast change in the personnel of "the Government," there has been a still vaster change in its powers. Owing to the difficulty of communication, the mechanism for enforcing its will afar off was less efficient—hence the local administrative courts established in the North and in Wales (cf. ch. iv., §§ 6, 9), —but the scope of its powers was far more extensive. Of its powers tabulated on pp. 54, 55 (Table, *sub* B, I. i.), the judicial powers have passed away from "the Government" (except when a Home Secretary reprieves a condemned criminal), and the rest have ceased to be under its absolute control. The King in Council had in Tudor times a free hand in general Administration and in Expenditure, a considerable discretion in Taxation and even in Legislation. The Council, like our Cabinet, drafted the principal measures

carried through Parliament; and in addition to this, the King in Council could (and did) block Parliamentary legislation by the use of his veto, could (and did) nullify past legislation by the use of his Dispensing and Suspending Powers, and practically legislate himself by his power of Proclamation. The constitutional limits to this last power laid down by the judges in Mary's reign (cf. ch. iv., § 9; v., § 7) were not always respected:—

"The King may make a Proclamation *quoad terrorem populi*, to put the people in fear of his displeasure, but not to impose any fine, forfeiture, or imprisonment; for no Proclamation can make a new law, but only confirm and ratify an ancient one."

iv. The Parliament: what it did not do.

§ 6. In such a constitution what was there left for Parliament to do? It did not constantly interfere, as Parliament does to-day, with the ordinary administration, and this for two excellent reasons: it neither could nor would. It could not, because it met irregularly when the King wished, not, as nowadays, once a year at least; and it would not, because it felt that it was "no use keeping a dog if it had to do the barking itself." Consequently, we do not find Tudor Parliaments ordering exactly what Government was to do, or pinning it down to spend money on certain objects and none other; nor do we find them examining into what Government had done, by overhauling its acts or its accounts. Moreover, Parliament exercised little more direct control over the means than it did over the men and measures of government. The hereditary revenues of the Crown—the feudal and commercial dues, and the rent, etc., of its landed estates—sufficed for the ordinary needs of government; and these sources of income were freely supplemented when necessary by such "arbitrary" devices as Benevolences (ch. i., § 15), Forced Loans (ch. ii., § 7; ch. iii., § 4; ch. iv., § 18), and Monopolies (ch. ix., § 13), as well as by Parliamentary grants, which were, as a rule, unstinted.

What Parliament did do.

Little wonder, then, that Holinshed, the chronicler, and Shakspere, the historian, should treat the English Parliament as a negligeable quantity. Yet M. Boutmy, than whom few have written of the English Constitution with more insight, says: "The

Tudor century was more Parliamentary in form than either the century which preceded it or the century which followed it" (cf. Intro., §§ 4, 30). How can this be? The answer is simply that the importance of institutions is not adequately measured by the fuss and noise they make. The Tudor Parliament had two useful functions (cf. Table, p. 55, *sub* B, I. ii.): by its recognised right of participation in law-making, and by its sole right (also recognised, though violated) of voting supplies, it fixed the limits of deviation within which the Government must work; and by its constitutional right of grumbling—technically, "seeking redress of grievances"—it pointed out when those limits had, in its opinion, been transgressed. It was modest, for, instead of wanting to do things itself, it was content to ask that they should be done; and it was, as a rule, efficient in keeping the Government in touch with the nation. When for any cause—such as its own timidity or its own class-interests—it failed to do this last, the alternative, answering to the petitions and public meetings of our own day, was armed resistance; and the rarity of rebellion against the Tudors, even when the purse or the conscience seemed in danger, may be accepted as a roughly accurate test of the general representative adequacy of Parliament.*

How the Crown influenced the composition and working of Parliament.

The fact that the function of Parliament was to keep the Crown in touch with the nation in no wise hindered the Crown from wishing to get its own way. There were various methods in use during the Tudor Period whereby the Crown essayed to avoid being inconvenienced by a refractory Parliament—methods which for the most part are still in existence, only they are used—not by the Crown, but—by the political parties which seek to direct the Crown's action. The crudest method was to do without Parliament altogether. This commended itself to Henry VII., to Wolsey, and, in part, to Elizabeth. Secondly, the Crown sought to influence the composition of the Commons (for on the Lords it could, as a rule, safely rely). Sometimes the Crown put pressure on the

* Instances of rebellion against pecuniary exactions will be found in ch. i., § 4; ch. ii., § 7; against religious changes, etc., in ch. iv., § 5; ch. v., § 9; ch. vi., § 4; ch. vii., § 18.

elections in existing constituencies—especially during the reigns of Edward VI. and Mary (ch. vi., § 6): sometimes it created new constituencies. This it did by virtue of a prerogative which did not fall into disuse till the time of Charles II. (vol. III., ch. viii., § 3)—of summoning any borough to send representatives; and boroughs were selected which, owing to their small population and restricted franchise, were likely to return members in the interest of the leading local magnate, who was himself amenable to "persuasion" from the Crown. Thus Edward VI. issued writs of summons to 22 new boroughs, Mary to 14, and Elizabeth to 62. These were some of the "rotten" boroughs abolished, along with "decayed" boroughs, by the Reform Bills of 1832 and 1867.

Finally, there was the method of managing the business of the Parliament when actually in session. In the Upper House the peers who were in the Council took the lead: in the Lower House, the members who were also members of the Council would keep an eye on the business of the House much in the same way as Cabinet Ministers do now (but without being assailed by an infinite number of questions on their conduct of affairs). Besides, the Speaker, in those days a royal nominee (cf. ch. ii., § 7), regulated its activity, as far as possible, in the interests of the Crown—in fact, doubled the parts now performed by Mr. Speaker and the Leader of the House.

Strengthening of Parliamentary Privilege.

Despite all these precautions to secure by royal influence the harmony between King and Parliament which is now secured by party organisation, the Commons at least occasionally broke loose. Wolsey was told in 1523 "that his coming was neither expedient nor in accordance with the liberties of the House" (ch. ii., § 7); and Elizabeth's attempts to overawe the Commons were resisted as successfully as their attempts to trench on her Prerogative in the question of the succession and of the initiation of ecclesiastical legislation (ch. vii., § 12; ch. viii., § 4; ch. ix., § 13). The quarrels were important mainly because of their pregnancy. They showed that King and Parliament could get on together only so long as they were both reasonable—*i.e.*, so long as each did not claim a right to everything for which they could dredge up precedents

from old records. Meanwhile, Parliament—rather as a matter of dignity than as a conscious preparation for the coming conflict (Intro., § 30)—strengthened its organisation by obtaining the confirmation and recognition of its "privileges." This was especially the case with the Commons. From 1541 onwards Mr. Speaker has claimed at the outset of each Parliament the three fundamental privileges of Freedom of Access to the King, Freedom from Arrest on civil process, and Freedom of Speech. These were all successfully vindicated during the Tudor Period; and there were added to them the decision in the cases of disputed elections and the jurisdiction over offending members. It is not contended that these privileges took their final shape or were recognised to their full extent: far from it. But, on the whole, the Commons were advancing in this respect, and advancing in the fullest harmony with both Crown and Lords.*

The Relation of Parliament to the Nation.

§ 7. If Parliament did not, as now, constantly interfere with the work of government, neither did the nation, as now, constantly interfere with the work of Parliament. No one dreamed of putting forward "the voice of the nation" as the supreme arbiter; elections were merely the traditional machinery for getting together one part of the National Assembly; there was no idea of a "mandate" given to a member of the Commons' House by his constituency; and the word "platform" was entirely confined to the sphere of ecclesiastical politics. Doubtless Parliament was "representative": but only a small part of the nation took any formal part in constituting it; and the nation itself was quite different from now. One House of Parliament was composed of the Temporal and Spiritual Lords (all being landowners): and the other of landed gentry and propertied burgesses, both of which groups were, for the most part, landowners and closely connected one with another. In the boroughs, the franchise was, as a rule, restricted to certain families or the ruling corporation: in the shire, it stopped

* A summary of the main facts with regard to Parliament will be found on p. 55 (Table B, i. ii). The curious in the matter of Parliamentary privilege may consult Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ch. v. (pp. 195-201 in Student's edition); or more shortly in Taswell-Langmead's *Constitutional History*, ch. ix. (pp. 336-56 in the fourth edition).

short with the forty-shilling freeholder—that particular class of yeoman who had land worth a rent of £2 per annum on a freehold tenure. Other varieties of yeomen and the peasants had nothing to do with the Parliamentary system till the Reform Bills of the nineteenth century; but, on the other hand, they had a considerable share, since lost, in the parochial government which more intimately concerned them (Table B, II., p. 56). Under the Tudors the parish was organised on the basis of a hearty communal life: the assessment and levying both of Parliamentary taxation and of the Church-rate and other rates, and the appointment of the parish-officers were done by the parishioners in vestry-meeting. These and other activities it was proposed to revive, in an extended form, by the *Local Government Bill* of 1893.

Stratification of English Society.

Secondly, the nation was different. The newspaper-press has made it possible for every one to know what is going on at the centre of affairs; with the increased knowledge has come increased interest; and the electoral machinery has been revolutionised so as to make that new interest bear upon the course of government. And the Industrial Revolution which accompanied the development of the newspaper-press in the eighteenth century has similarly revolutionised the social organisation. England is now sharply divided between town and country, and between rich and poor; and its main interests are not Agriculture, but Trade and Manufacture. In contrast with which state of things place M. Boutmy's picture of Sixteenth-Century England:—

"Rural England still formed almost the whole of England. It surpassed the commercial and manufacturing classes in numbers, wealth, and the importance of its public services: it overshadowed them through the moral authority and the dominant position of its leaders.

Gentry and Yeomen.

"Those leaders, that is the country-gentlemen, possessed none of the characteristics of Feudalism: the very opposite was the case,—they formed a class essentially modern in its nature. It was at that time the fundamental peculiarity of the English people that the various grades of the social hierarchy were divided by no wide intervals: different classes approached so nearly that they seemed sometimes to overlap. In the fifteenth century the country-gentlemen invaded and absorbed the Peerage;

the country-gentlemen themselves were, in their turn, recruited by the addition of wealthy merchants, borough-magistrates, and the more eminent lawyers, and thus attracted to their own ranks the leading representatives of the urban communities, and of the commercial and industrial interests. A step lower and the yeomanry followed in continued sequence.

Peasants and Artisans.

"The first conspicuous break occurs at the point where, below the humblest yeomen, the inferior and, so to speak, inorganic sections of the community began; yet even there the dividing line was less marked than it is at the present day. If the more considerable of the small freeholders bordered upon the gentry, the more humble remained, to a certain extent, in touch with the paid labourer. They treated him, as a rule, like one of their own family: the shepherd or the ploughman lived at the farm; artisans dwelt under the eye of their master in cottages built upon the waste.

Homogeneousness of English Society.

"In a progressive community, the upper classes are strengthened in their authority and power, and fortified against destructive influences in proportion as the separation between class and class is made slighter and more liable to be overturned by those sections that press on either side of the border line. The vague limitation of classes acts as a check upon the growth of class-feeling: each rank is prevented from forming a distinct conception of its own interests, and shows no tendency to stand aloof or to regard all other ranks with a feeling of distant hostility. Homogeneousness and coherence, continuity and gradation—these, at the period to which I am referring, were the marked characteristics of English society. No surer guarantees of social harmony exist; and, as a matter of fact, this harmony was never seriously shaken by the most violent political or religious disturbances. This is what the eighteenth century destroyed." *

Economic Features of the Tudor Period. 1. Comfort.

§ 8. The economic condition of the society thus ranked and ruled is hardly less notable than its ecclesiastical, political, and social conditions. Here, too, the age was one of stir and development that has set its mark on our surroundings to-day; and here, too, the dominant note was the widening of the scope of man's individual action (cf. Intro., §§ 18-20). The Tudor century in its social and economic, as in its

* Emile Boutmy's *English Constitution*, part ii., § 5, pp. 131-133, in the English translation published by Messrs. Macmillan. This work gives a singularly short, clear, and illuminating survey of our constitutional history from the social and economic side. The subject of the previous seven sections may be further studied in Hallam's *Constitutional History*, ch. i.-v.; and in Gneist's *History of the English Constitution*, Period IV., ch. xxx.-xxxvi. (English translation published by Messrs. Clowes, 10*s.* 6*d.*). Hallam is very easily shocked by infringements of parliamentary privilege and of religious liberty: he is, therefore, far less appreciative of the Tudor administrative system than is Gneist.

religious, aspects, begins and ends well: in the middle it is a veritable slough of despond. "It is from this period," says Green, "that we can first date the rise of a conception which seems to us a peculiarly English one—the conception of domestic comfort." How true this statement is may be seen by glancing through the list of improvements given in Harrison's *Description of England* *—stoves for sweating baths, glass for windows, brick and stone instead of timber, plate, tapestry, carpets, "fine naperie," the multitude of chimneys, amendment of lodging, etc. By all these things the old parson thought that "the wealth of our country doth infinitely appear."

This is the pleasant side of the picture. The sixteenth century was one of great activity in all directions, especially in that of Commerce: what is called "private enterprise" may almost be said to find its beginnings in this period. Throughout it is marked by a spirit of adventure which too often takes the form of money-grubbing (cf. Intro., § 4; ch. i., § 11): how easily one of these passes into the other one might gather from the history of the word *Adventurer*. Those who prefer to think of the heroic side should read Green: those who prefer to dwell on the seamy side will find it in Mr. Hall's minute studies on Elizabethan life. All we can do here is to briefly recount the chief features in the economic conditions of both country- and town-life, and the beginnings of England as an Oceanic Power.

2. Competition.

In all three aspects the thing that stands out most distinctly is the dislike of stagnation and settledness. "Home-keeping youths have ever homely wits" is the pervading feeling of society. Not that there was not a good deal of journeying about in the Middle Ages; but that was animated by love of glory or of grace—war and worship were its objects. Now that self-interest became almost professedly supreme, change grew to be universal—in the sphere of business no less than in the

* This forms part of Holinshed's *Chronicle* (1577). It is reprinted by Walter Scott in the "Scott Library." Chapter ix. in that edition—"Of the Manner of Building and Furniture of our Houses"—is the source whence most modern accounts are taken, and may as well be read at first-hand. Amongst modern sketches of Tudor society may be mentioned J. R. Green's *History of the English People* (Vol. II., Bk. vi., ch. v., pp. 384-94), or his *Short History* (ch. vii., § 5); and Mr. Hubert Hall's *Society in the Elizabethan Age*.

spheres of thought and religion. Men could not see why they should act in a certain way simply because their fathers had done so before them. The landlord shook off the traditions of cultivation, and took up what paid best (§§ 9, 10); the artisan grew impatient of the restrictions of the craft-gilds, and set up on his own account (§ 11); the merchant could not be shackled by the old regulations, but traded where and how he would (§§ 12, 13). Each class fell into discontent with the old humdrum style of working moderately and earning a bare living: each class plunged into risk in the hope of profit. In Harrison's grumbling words: "Every function and several vocation striveth with other, which of them should have all the water of commodity run into her own cistern."

3. Capital.

Finally, as a result of this novelty of *Competition*, we find certain members of each class successfully accumulating a margin. In former days they must needs have either hoarded or spent such a margin: in this new era there are new fields for investment—in other words, accumulations are treated as *Capital*.*

i. Country Life: Sheep-Farming? or Agriculture?

§ 9. The main feature in the country-life of the time has a very close connection with both these new facts —Capital and Competition. England,—once a granary, in our own days a colliery,—was tending to be a sheepfold. Why? It was more profitable to grow wool than food-stuffs (*i.e.*, practically grain): hence the conversion of tillage into pasturage, which was already being complained of during the fifteenth century. It was more profitable because it required fewer labourers (and labour was dear), and because the looms of the Low Countries were insatiate of English wool (cf. ch. i., § 7), whereas the export of corn was discouraged by law. Further, as sheep-farming pays best on a large scale, the entire land-system had to be adapted to meet the new requirements.

* *Capital* and *Competition* are the points emphasised by Dr. Cunningham, whose *Growth of English Industry and Commerce* is the most complete manual on our economic history: in his old one-volume work, Bk. iv. and Bk. v., ch. i., in his newer work, Vol. I., Bk. v., and Vol. II., Bk. vi., cover the Tudor Period. Other standard works are Thorold Rogers' *Six Centuries of Work and Wages* (ch. iv.-viii.), and Prof. W. J. Ashley's *Economic History and Theory* (Part II., *passim*). Mr. Ashley's remarks on the gilds and fraternities (Part II., ch. ii.), and his map showing the extent, etc., of the Tudor Enclosures, are especially important. The shortest intelligible summary is Mr. Gibbins' *Industrial History of England* (Period IV., ch. i.-iii.).

From Champion to Several.

The unit of mediaeval husbandry had been not the farm but the manor; which, besides the homesteads upon it, consisted of the three common-fields, a few fenced closes, and the common-lands or wastes. The whole belonged to the lord of the manor, but the various kinds of tenant—freeholders, leaseholders, copyholders—had fixity of tenure so long as they met their obligations. All tenants had prescriptive rights on the commons—grazing a certain number of cattle, herding swine, cutting turf, and gathering brushwood. The holdings of all tenants and of the lord himself were cultivated in a uniform manner, as agreed upon by the tenants and the lord's bailiff; and their holdings (divided by balks of turf only) were scattered through three common-fields, in order that every year they might each have one parcel under wheat or rye, one under oats or barley, and one lying fallow. This minute subdivision was a great obstacle to cheap wool-raising. The most obvious thing to do was to get rid of tenants and form huge sheep-walks by throwing their holdings together; and from the middle of the fourteenth century we find the system of collective culture in the open country or champagne (in technical language, *champion*) giving way before individual culture of separate (in technical language, *several*) plots.

Tudor Enclosures and their Effects.

The transition from Champion to Several, though not completed till the end of the eighteenth century, received a great impetus when the "old acres" held by the monastic houses, who were easy, even improvident, landlords, passed to "new men," who saw their way to make money and were not squeamish about other folks' rights or feelings (cf. ch. iii., § 14; iv., §§ 7, 8). The profit of this economic change fell to the capitalist, the burden to the labourer. The rustics who were not evicted were to a considerable extent shut out of their enjoyment of common and waste lands, of which they had hitherto the usance: those that were expelled knew not whither to turn. They were not allowed to dig; there were no manufactures wherein to use their hands; they were driven to beg (§ 10).

The consciousness of these evils led to much ineffective

though well-meaning legislation, sometimes in hope to prevent, sometimes to cure. In 1489, Henry VII. gave his assent to a law against "depopulating enclosures and depopulating pasturage": it aimed at maintaining for ever all houses of husbandry that were used with twenty acres of ground and upwards. "Thus," notes Bacon, "did the king secretly sow Hydra's teeth; whereupon, according to the poet's fiction, should rise up armed men for the service of this kingdom." But over and above this military reason for the law—the necessity of keeping up the yeomanry for purposes of war—there was the financial reason, quite in Henry's manner (cf. ch. i., § 15), that taxation of real property is more profitable the wider the distribution of the land: "for," says Bacon, "the more gentlemen, ever the lower books of subsidies." *

Legislation against Enclosures.

But in most districts the measure failed completely. So did Henry VIII.'s attempt of 1516 to restrict the number of sheep on one farm to two thousand. The process towards pasturage went on and, in the long run, caused an enormous increase in the productive power of the land. The immediate effects, however, were the privation which was one of the causes of Kett's Rising in 1549 (ch. v., §§ 8, 9), and the pauperism which we still have with us (§ 10). Of its effect on the yeoman class, let Latimer and Harrison speak:—

Effect on the Yeomen.

"My father was a yeoman and had no lands of his own, only he had a farm of three or four pound by year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had a walk for a hundred sheep; and my mother milked thirty kine. He was able and did find the king a harness, with himself and his horse, while he came to the place that he should receive the king's wages. I can remember that I buckled his harness when he went to Blackheath Field. He kept me to school, or else I had not been able to preach before the king's majesty now. He married my sisters with five pound, or twenty nobles, apiece, so that he brought them up in godliness and fear of God. He kept hospitality for his poor neighbours, and some alms he gave to the poor. And all this he did off the said farm, where he that now hath it payeth sixteen pounds by year or more, and is not able to do anything for his prince, for himself, nor for his children, or give a cup of drink to the poor." (Latimer's *First Sermon before Edward VI.*)

* The passage in Bacon's *Henry VII.* is highly instructive. Lumby's Edition, pp. 70-72.

When Harrison wrote, twenty years later, this bitterness is overpast. Speaking of the yeoman of the type of Latimer's father, he mentions

"three things that are grown to be very grievous to them, to wit: *enhancing of rents, the daily oppression of copy-holders*, whose lords seek to bring their poor tenants almost into plain servitude and misery, daily devising new means, and seeking up all the old, how to cut them shorter and shorter, doubling, trebling, and now and then seven times increasing their fines [*sc.*, for renewal of lease, etc.], driving them also for every trifle to lose and forfeit their tenures to the end that they may fleece them yet more. The third thing they talk of is *usury*, a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectly practised almost by every Christian, and so commonly that he is accompted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing."

On the other hand, his testimony, in the selfsame passage, is weighty in proof that these are farmers' grievances: in fact, they depict too exclusively the seamy side. Landlords still rackrented—*i.e.*, let their farms to the highest bidder; but the farmers could well afford to pay.

"Although peradventure four pounds of old rent be improved to forty, fifty, or a hundred pounds, yet will the farmer, as another palm or date tree, think his gains very small toward the end of his term, if he have not six or seven years' rent lying by him, therewith to purchase a new lease . . . and that it shall never trouble him more than the hair of his beard, when the barber hath washed and shaved it from his chin." (*Harrison*, ch. x., pp. 120-1.)

§ 10. The farmer suffered temporarily through the enhancing of traditional rents brought about by the *competition* for land for sheep-rearing purposes: the labourer suffered in like manner, but to a greater degree and for a longer time, by the change from customary to *competition* wages. At the beginning of the period he was fairly well off: a wage of threepence halfpenny a day was not bad when a carcase of mutton cost but a shilling. At the end of the period he was again flourishing. The intermediate stage was full of misery: while from a combination of causes, already noticed (ch. v., § 8), prices were going up, the peasant's wages remained at the same level. Moreover, his services were less and less in demand for tending the sheep, to which "the farming gentlemen and clerking knights," who took over the monastic lands, gave their attention. He was not wanted in the country, nor could he find aught to do in the towns. Being

Effects of Enclosures, etc., on the Peasants.

no longer bound to work for a lord, he could no longer claim a lord's support; and so, with the ejected retainers (cf. ch. i., § 12), the labourers swelled the ranks of the unemployed — or, in Tudor phrase, *vagabonds*. "They be cast into prison as vagabonds," wrote Sir Thomas More, sympathetically, "because they go about and work not, whom no man will set to work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto."

Vagabondage and its Treatment.

Hitherto there had been two distinct sets of machinery for dealing with those that had no visible means of subsistence. The Church—whether through the parish-clergy or through the monasteries, as pledged to give hospitality—had taken charge of the helpless poor: the State had looked after the sturdy beggar, who generally was, and was always considered, an evil rogue. After the secularisation of the monasteries, the State was forced to take over their humanitarian duties, and thus to its old work of police-supervision added the task of poor-relief. But the acceptance of the burden was very gradual. The first step was to discriminate between the three degrees of poor, called by Harrison * the *poor by impotence*, the *poor by casualty*, and the *thriftless poor*. For the first two sorts, relief was provided: for the last, punishment, or, later on, work. The method of punishment was old: it dated from the *Statutes of Labourers*, which had been amongst the fruits of the agrarian revolution hastened on by the Black Death of 1348. Not till Henry VIII.'s reign did the State attempt the maintenance of the aged and deserving poor, alongside of the repression of the sturdy beggar. As regards the deserving poor, the churchwardens of each parish were in 1536 authorised to make collections for the poor, promiscuous giving being discouraged; in 1551 churchwardens, curates, or, failing them, bishops, were bidden to exhort the backward in giving or collecting; Mary appointed Christmas as the time for raising the fund; Elizabeth, in 1563, enforced such contributions by empowering J.P.'s to summon and, if necessary, imprison defaulters, till payment be made, and facilitated them by enacting, in 1572, that the money should

* His account will be found in the *Description*, ch. x.

be raised by a general assessment, and in 1597 that the assessment could be levied by distraint.

The First General Poor-Law, 1601.

Meanwhile, the variety of punishments provided by Henry VII. for the idle beggars had proved as futile as the severity of the *Vagrancy Act* of 1 Edward VI. (ch. v., § 8). Elizabeth began in 1576 the system of providing work, the justices being then empowered to buy buildings and hemp for this purpose. In the session of 1597 no less than seven Acts—one-third of the total number of public Acts in that statute—dealt with some form of this economic problem. Finally, in Elizabeth's last Parliament, in 1601, the best of the previous provisions were codified in what is known as the *First General Poor-Law*, which settled for two hundred years the main lines of our pauper-system. The parish was made the unit of administration; the means were furnished not only by the proceeds of various ecclesiastical fines for immorality and non-attendance at church, but also by a parochial poor-rate on all landed property; and the churchwardens, assisted by "overseers of the poor" (appointed by the J.P.'s, and later called "guardians"), were charged with the carrying out of the law. "Maintenance for those who cannot, punishment for those who will not, work, and work for all who will do it—such," says Dr. Cunningham, "were the principles of this memorable law."

ii. Town-Life: Organisation of Labour.

§ 11. In town as in country—divisions which, it is well to remember, were neither so well marked as now, nor of the same relative importance (cf. § 7)—the Tudor Period is characterised by the abandonment of traditional methods in industrial no less than in governmental matters. Regulated handicraft was going the way of regulated husbandry; and the same century which witnessed the final break-up of the manorial system (§§ 9, 10), witnessed also the waning of the craft-gilds whereby craftsmen had sought, by associated effort, to secure skilled workmanship, good materials, satisfactory conditions of production, equitable distribution of profits, and prices which to producer and consumer alike should be fair and reasonable. It was only as benefit-clubs that they remained active, though even here they were restricted to the limit

of man's natural life by the disendowment of such of their funds as were devoted to the saying of masses for the souls of departed members (ch. v., § 4). Their work of regulating output, quality of work, apportionment of earnings, etc.—in other words their work as trade-unions—was not, however, left wholly to "private enterprise" (that would have been un-Tudorlike), but was in part undertaken by the State. Thus not only were the justices of the peace empowered to fix fair prices, but the conditions of production were to some extent regulated by the *Statute of Apprenticeship*, 1563, which required seven years' apprenticeship in all then existing trades. Despite these checks on the unrestricted competition of capitalist, employer, and buyer, the new methods of work did not give complete satisfaction: hence Harrison's lamentation:—

"Our husbandmen and artificers were never so excellent in their trades as at present. But as the workmanship of the latter sort was never more fine and curious to the eye, so was it never less strong and substantial for continuance and benefit of the buyers. Neither is there anything that hurteth the common sort of our artificers more than haste, and a barbarous or slavish desire to turn the penny, and, by ridding of their work, to make a speedy utterance of their wares: which enforceth them to bungle up and despatch many things they care not how, so they be out of their hands, whereby the buyer is often sore defrauded and findeth to his cost that *haste maketh waste*, according to the proverb." (*Harrison*, ch. i., p. 15.)

Development of English Manufactures.

The changes in the conditions of production had not a little to do with the creation of new manufacturing districts. A craftsman found himself hampered by the rules of his gild: he could not do what he liked, how he liked, when he liked, and to what extent he liked. He could not well exercise his craft within the town where a craft-gild existed; and so the enterprising master-craftsman was constrained to move into suburbs or into fresh ground. Hence, in Tudor times we hear not only, as now, of a "rural exodus," but also of the "decay of towns." Yet Norwich remained the centre of the worsted trade, and York of the coverlet manufacture. Further, if old towns decayed, new ones arose: it was at this period that Birmingham began to flourish on its hardware, Halifax on its broadcloth, Manchester on its friezes, Warrington on its linen, and Sheffield on its cutlery.

A great impetus to this shifting of trade-centres was given by the advent of refugees from the Low Countries during Elizabeth's reign (ch. vii., § 16; ch. viii., § 12). These not only introduced here the making of lace, but greatly improved our treatment of wool (cf. ch. i., § 7). They taught our workmen the art of making good cloth—in the fifteenth century, Thorold Rogers used to say, "one might as well have been clothed in a hurdle as in English-made cloth"—and so provided the indigent with employment in spinning, weaving, fulling and dyeing at home the raw wool hitherto sent abroad. The linen and silk manufactures were in a vigorous infancy; but what are now our leading industries barely existed. Cotton was hardly heard of, and, till towards the end of Elizabeth's reign, iron was not turned out in sufficient quantities to supply even the home-market. Sussex was the centre of the iron industry; but the consumption of wood for smelting was so great that in 1581 legal restrictions were placed on its use. Harrison had already noted that coal-mines would soon be the only fuel, "if wood be not better cherished than it is at this present."

iii. Sea-Life: 1. Commerce and the Trade-Companies.

§ 12. In International Commerce, no less than in Home Industries, the sixteenth century, from causes which we have already surveyed (Intro., § 20), saw great changes. Harrison did not think much of our business capacity: "foreigners will buy the case of a fox of an Englishman for a groat, and make him afterwards give twelve pence for the tail." None the less, English Commerce grew apace during the Tudor Period: it not only extended to hitherto unknown parts, but also greatly increased to the old centres. Whereas in 1485 the bulk of our trade with neighbouring countries, and the whole of our trade with distant countries, was in the hands of foreigners (ch. i., § 14), at the death of Elizabeth English merchants had spread, and were getting some sort of a footing, everywhere. For economy and for mutual security those who worked each trade-route associated themselves together, as of old the Merchants-Staplers and the Merchants-Adventurers had done. Thus the Northern trade—in iron, tallow, timber, and naval stores generally—fell by slow degrees into English hands: after Chancellor's voyage to Archangel in

1553 the Muscovy Company was established to trade with Russia; a few years later the merchants trafficking in the Baltic (which Russia did not at that time touch) formed the Eastland Company; and finally in 1597 the privileges of the Hanseatic dealers, already withdrawn for a moment under Edward VI., were abolished.

Similarly with the Eastern trade: after 1532 the Venetian Flanders-Fleet ceased to visit our shores; and shortly afterwards we find Englishmen scheming to open up a direct trade with the Indies on their own account. In 1579 the Levant Company obtained leave to trade with Turkey, and thereby with the East; and, especially after the conquest of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580 (ch. ix., § 2), all sorts of attempts were made to find a route of our own. As the Table of Voyages shows (pp. 304-7), efforts were made by us, as by the Dutch, to find a North-East and a North-West Passage to the Indies, but without success then or since. The South-West Passage tracked by Drake in his circumnavigation of the world, 1577-80 (Map, p. 308), was too long, and finally we were forced to use the Portuguese or South-East Passage. It was *viâ* this Cape of Good Hope route that the first East India Company, which received its first charter on December 31, 1600, proposed to trade to the Spice Islands, and somewhat later (in 1609) with Hindustán itself.

Eastern Trade-Routes: the East India Company, 1600.

Very humble and very timid were these unconscious beginnings of our universal Commerce and of our Indian Empire: yet were we not unambitious. Elizabeth struck a coinage for the Eastern trade expressly to bear witness to Asiatics that she was "as great a prince as the King of Spain"; and John Davys looked very far ahead in his book, *The World's Hydrographical Description* (1595):—

> "We should also at the first hand receive all Indian commodities, both natural and artificial, in a far greater measure, by an easier rate, and in better condition than now they are by many exchanges brought to us; then would all nations of Europe repair unto England, not only for these foreign merchandise by reason of their plenty, perfection, and easy rates, but also to pass away that which God in nature hath bestowed upon them and their countries: whereby Her Majesty and Her Highness's successors forever should be monarchs of the Earth and commanders of the Sea."

§ 13. The ship in which Burroughs sailed in 1557 to develop, if possible, the Archangel route into a North-East Passage to the Indies, was called the *Search-thrift*; and the name admirably suggests that "combination of the commercial and the imaginative"—as a modern Elizabethan* has put it—which is the character stamp of these over-sea enterprises. But Tudor mariners—especially under Elizabeth, when the nation first found out its vocation for the sea—did not launch out into the deep solely for the sake of Commerce. To many seamanship and exploration formed almost ends in themselves; for instance, to John Davys, who for that reason is styled "the Navigator" (cf. Intro., § 20, p. 35). Davys's interest in Navigation as an art displayed itself in his book on *Seamen's Secrets*: his interest in Geography as a science displayed itself in that *World's Hydrographical Description* already cited (p. 333). Englishmen had ceased to be dependent on Spaniards and Portuguese for instruction in the sailor's craft, and were already acquiring that fame for careful charts which still subsists. The zeal of these men of action has been recorded by a zealous man of letters, Richard Hakluyt (afterwards the historiographer to the East India Company), who in 1589 brought out the first part of his *Principal Navigations, Voyages, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by Sea or over Land to the most Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth.*

2. Navigation.

Besides desire to promote the extension of legitimate commerce and to enlarge knowledge of the world's surface, other things induced Englishmen to roam over sea. The same three stages that have been noted in their old wanderings from Elbe-mouth to Britain (Intro., § 1) can be recognised here also with regard to the New World—the stages of Plunder, Settlement, and Conquest But in the days of the Tudors the third was hardly thought of: it was enough that they should have been forced to give up the idea of conquest in Europe (cf. ch. i., § 6; ch. ii., §§ 4, 12; ch. iv., § 17; ch. vi., § 12; ch. vii., §§ 2, 10). On the second stage Englishmen were still

3. Settlement.

* The Right Hon. Cecil Rhodes, at the meeting of the Imperial British South Africa Company, held at London, November 29, 1892.

rehearsing rather than giving finished performances. The attempts to "plant" settlers on the eastern seaboard of North America—the huge tract claimed by England on the strength of the Cabots' discovery (Intro., § 20; ch. i., § 14), and named *Virginia* by Ralegh, one of the few Englishmen who thought that the New World might serve for his countrymen not merely to dig for gold in but to dwell in—by Sir Humfrey Gilbert and his step-brother Ralegh were expensive failures (Table, p. 307); and it was not till James I.'s reign that *effective* English colonisation began.

4. Plunder.

Till the end of the sixteenth century, then, the prevalent notion of Englishmen with regard to the New World was that of Plunder. This plunder took various shapes. One shape may be called *smuggling*—as when, from 1562 onwards, Sir John Hawkins leading the way, Englishmen smuggled negroes that they had kidnapped in Africa into the Spanish West Indies to be sold as slaves. Another may be called *piracy*, as when English sailors overhauled and robbed foreign ships, especially Spanish treasure-ships, upon the high seas—an attention cordially reciprocated. A third, closely akin to this last, may be called *burgling*, as when, in 1572, Drake occupied for a moment the town of Nombre de Dios, and, pointing to the stacks of gold and silver bars, said to his followers, "See, I have brought you to the mouth of the treasury of the world." The redoubtable activity of Drake—"*El Draconte*," or "the Dragon"—as pirate and burglar was, as we have seen (ch. ix., §§ 2, 6), one of the causes of the Spanish Armada. The Spaniards could not see why they should be treated as they had treated the natives: on the other hand, Drake and his fellow Devon seamen thought it *right* to rob alike dusky heathen and outlandish "Papists." The conflict between these points of view has led to the formation of a code of international morality quite inconceivable in the days of the Tudors, as in time it may lead to that code being thoroughly respected.

The Crown and Maritime Enterprise.

§ 14. In all these spheres of enterprise beyond the sea, as in the development of home-industries, the Crown took a great interest. Thus Henry VII. promoted and rewarded the voyage of the Cabots in 1497 (ch. i., § 14). Henry VIII. sent Sebastian Cabot

in search of a North-West Passage in 1517, and founded three colleges on a Spanish model for the training of pilots and sailors. Edward VI. made Sebastian Cabot, on his return from nearly thirty years' service under Charles V., Grand Pilot of England—in which capacity, down till his death in 1554, Cabot introduced such improvements as lead-sheathing in the building of ships, and the keeping of logs, as well as encouraging maritime discovery. Elizabeth not only sought by her charters to trading companies to regulate foreign commerce in such a way as to advantage both the traders and the State, but also took shares in many of her subjects' ventures. She kept a sharp eye on the balance-sheet. When Hawkins excused himself for an unprofitable voyage in 1590 with the words, "Paul might plant and Apollos might water, but it was God only that gave the increase," her retort was sharp: "This fool went out a soldier, and came home a divine."

National Islandism.

Contrariwise, the combination of religion and hope of gain with patriotism on the part of the adventurers themselves is well depicted in George Peele's *Farewell* to Norris and Drake in 1589 (ch. ix., § 11):—

> "To arms, to arms, to glorious arms!
> With noble Norris and victorious Drake,
> Under the sanguine cross, brave England's badge,
> To propagate religious piety . . .
> You fight for Christ and England's peerless Queen—
> Elizabeth, the wonder of the world,
> Over whose throne the enemies of God
> Have thundered erst their vain successful braves.
> To arms, to arms, to honourable arms!"

In the speech which he puts into the mouth of the dying John of Gaunt (*Richard II.*, Act II., Sc. i.), Shakspere runs over the whole gamut of English patriotism:—

> "This royal throne of kings, this sceptred isle,
> This earth of majesty, this seat of Mars,
> This other Eden, demi-Paradise;
> This fastness built by Nature for herself
> Against infection and the hand of war,
> This happy breed of men, this little world;
> This precious stone set in the silver sea,
> Which serves it in the office of a wall,
> Or as a moat defensive to a house,
> Against the envy of less happier lands."

APPENDIX I.

ILLUSTRATIONS: SOCIAL AND POLITICAL (1485—1603).

The real spirit of these or any other times, being of its very nature something fluid or even gaseous, cannot be cooled down, condensed, solidified, as it were, within the few rigid lines that can here and there be spared it in a text-book of this kind without undergoing a total change of state. The student is therefore invited to clothe the skeleton here presented with flesh and blood and inform it with life by reading, if not the larger professedly historical works on the period by Brewer, Gairdner, Gasquet, Froude, Hallam, and Ranke, at least some of the appended lighter literature. Some of the lesser known titles are taken from a list based on Mr. Courthope Bowen's *Descriptive Catalogue of Historical Novels and Tales.*

Asterisks (***) mark the books specially recommended.

N.B. The books enumerated *sub* "I." are in no sense meant to be a "List of Authorities," such as are given at the beginning of each of Dr. Bright's volumes, and in the section headings of Green's *Short History.* They are a selection of Contemporary Literature suitable for "Arm-Chair" reading: for guidance as to convenient editions and for help in perusing them the student may with advantage turn to the several parts of Mr. Low's *History of English Literature* in this series, or write to Mr. Edward Arber, 34, Wheeleys Road, Birmingham, for his catalogue.

w. = written; *p.* = published.

I. CONTEMPORARY:—

(i.) *Poetry and Satirical Verse:* Hawes's *Pastime of Pleasure* (*w.* 1506); Skelton's *Colyn Clout* and *Why come ye not to Court?*; Lyndesay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (*w.* 1535), and *Monarchie* (*w.* 1553); Tottel's *Miscellany* (*p.* 1557); *Mirror for Magistrates* (*p.* 1557–87); Gascoigne's *Steele Glass* (*p.* 1577); Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar** (*p.* 1579); George Peele's *Farewell to Drake and Norris* (*w.* 1589); Spenser's *Faery Queene** (*p.* 1590 and 1596); *Complaints*—esp. *Ruines of Time* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale* (*p.* 1591); *Colin Clout's come home again* (*p.* 1595); Sir John Davies's *Nosce Teipsum* (*p.* 1599).

N.B. Shakspere's *Historical Plays* illustrate the political thought of his own day; and the plays of himself and of his fellows throw floods of light on Elizabethan life.

(ii.) *Prose Works*, which may be roughly classified as dealing with things:—(*a*) *Social:* More's *Utopia** (*p.* 1516; Ralf Robinson's trans. 1551); Latimer's *Sermons** (reign of Edward VI.); Lyly's *Euphues* (*p.* 1579–80); Gosson's *School of Abuse* (1589); Nash's *Unfortunate Traveller* (*p.* 1594); Florio's translation of *Montaigne's Essays* (*p.* 1603).

(*b*) *Political:* Knox's *First Blast of the Trumpet* (*p.* 1558); Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey** (*w.* 1554, and incorporated in Holinshed, 1577); Harrison's *Description of England** (part of Holinshed: cheap reprint in the "Scott Library"); Camden's *Britannia* (*p.* 1586); Stow's *Survey of London* (*p.* 1598); Smith's *De Republica Anglorum** (*p.* 1583); Spenser's *View of the State of Ireland** (*w.* 1596, *p.* 1633).

Machiavelli's *Principe** (*p.* 1513), though not translated into English till 1640, had considerable influence over some English politicians.

WORKING MEN'S COLLEGE LIBRARY

(*e*) *Religious:* Bp. Jewel's *Apologia Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ** (*p.* 1562); Foxe's '*Book of Martyrs*' (*p.* 1563); *Martin Marprelate Tracts* (1588-90); Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity** (Books i.–iv., *p.* 1594; Book v., 1597; Books vi.–viii., 1618); Knox's *History of the Reformation in Scotland* (*p.* 1584); *The Prayer Books of Edward VI.* (1549 and 1552), are reprinted in Messrs. Griffith & Farran's "Theological Library" (1*s.* each).

(*d*) *Scientific:* Ascham's *Schoolmaster* (*p.* 1570); Hakluyt's *Divers Voyages* (*p.* 1582), and *Principal Navigations** (*p.* 1589); Ralegh's *Discovery of the Empire of Guayana* (*p.* 1595); Bacon's *Essays** (*p.* 1597; enlarged in 1612 and 1625); *Advancement of Learning*, Book i. (*p.* 1605).

II. MODERN POEMS AND ROMANCES:—

(i.) *Concerning European Affairs:*

George Eliot's *Romola** [Savonarola]; Charles Reade's *The Cloister and the Hearth** [Erasmus]; Mrs. Beecher Stowe's *Agnes of Sorrento*; C. M. Yonge's *Dove in the Eagle's Nest** [Maximilian]; G. A. Henty's *By Pike and Dyke* and Mrs. Charles's *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family* [Luther]; Manning's *Good Old Times* [Auvergne. 1549]; Mrs. Charles's *Martyrs of Spain* [1561], and *Liberators of Holland*; Goethe's *Egmont*; C. M. Yonge's *Chaplet of Pearls** [Charles IX.]; Ainsworth's *Crichton* [Henry III.], *The Constable de Bourbon*, and *The Spanish Match*; Dumas' *Ascanio*, *The Forty-five Guardsmen*, and *Margaret de Valois* [1572]; G. P. R. James's *Leonora d'Orco* [1494], *One in a Thousand*, *The Brigand*, and *The Man-at-Arms* [1572]; Samuel Davies's *From Dawn to Dark in Italy*; A. M. Porter's *Knight of St. John*; Jane Porter's *Duke Christian of Luneburg*: A. K. Tolstoi's *The Terrible Tzar** [Iwan]: J. W. Spear's *Rudolph of Rosenfeldt* [William the Silent].

(ii.) *Concerning English Affairs:*

(1) **Henry VII.** Mrs. Shelley's *Henry VII.* and *The Battle of Bosworth.*

(2) **Henry VIII.** Ainsworth's *Windsor Castle** (1530–36) and *Tower Hill* (1542); G. P. R. James's *Wolsey* and *Darnley*; Manning's *Household of Sir Thomas More*; Stewart's *Margaret Roper*; Mrs. K. Thompson's *Anne Boleyn*; *Old London Bridge.*

Scott's *Marmion** and *Lady of the Lake.**

(3) **Edward VI.** Ainsworth's *Constable of the Tower** and *The Fall of Somerset*; Manning's *Faire Gospeller* and *Colloquies of Edward Osborne*; Emma Robinson's *Westminster Abbey*; F. H. More's *Mistress Haselwode*, and S. Gibney's *The Maid of London Bridge* (Kett); Grant's *Mary of Lorraine.*

(4) **Mary.** Ainsworth's *Tower of London* (1553) and *Cardinal Pole*; W. H. G. Kingston's *Three Hundred Years Ago*; Tennyson's *Queen Mary*.

(5) **Elizabeth.** (*a*) *Plays and Poems:* Schiller's *Maria Stuart*; Swinburne's *Chastelard, Mary Stuart,* and *Bothwell.*

(*b*) *Prose Romances:* Kingsley's *Westward Ho!**; J. S. Fletcher's *Through Storm and Stress*; Edgar Pickering's *Old Time Yarn*; Julian Corbett's *For God and Gold*; G. A. Henty's *Under Drake's Flag*; Miss Manning's *Under the Southern Cross*; Scott's *Kenilworth**; Black's *Judith Shakespeare*; Sophia Lee's *The Recess* [usually described as "the first historical novel"]; W. H. G. Kingston's *The Royal Merchant*; Mary C. Rowsell's *Pedlar and His Dog*; C. M. Yonge's *Unknown to History*; Scott's *Monastery* and *Abbot*; Whyte Melville's *The Queen's Maries*; Grant's *Bothwell* and *Jane Seton*; Mrs. Oliphant's *Margaret Hepburn*; *Norman Leslie*; *The Days of Knox*; *The Siege of Maynooth*; *Geraldine of Desmond.*

(iii.) *Concerning Things Transmarine:*

C. P. Mackie's *With the Admiral of the Ocean Sea*; Rider Haggard's *Montezuma's Daughter*, and G. A. Henty's *By Right of Conquest* [Cortez]; J. R. Musick's *Columbus, Estevan, St. Augustine,* and *Pocahontas.*

Meadows Taylor's *A Noble Queen* [India, *temp.* Elizabeth].

APPENDIX II.

WORKS OF BIOGRAPHY.

(i.) *Statesmen:* Bacon's *Henry VII.*; Herbert's *Henry VIII.*; J. G. Gairdner's *Henry VII.*, Bp. Creighton's *Wolsey,** and E. S. Beesly's *Elizabeth,** in Macmillan's "Twelve English Statesmen"; Camden's *Elizabeth*; Macaulay's *Essay on Cecil, Lord Burghley.*

(ii.) *Religious Leaders:* Dean Hook's *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury* (Warham to Whitgift); Sir James Stephen's *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography* (esp. Loyola); John Tulloch's *Leaders of the Reformation* (Luther, Calvin, Latimer, Knox); Seebohm's *Oxford Reformers* (Colet, Erasmus, More); Father Bridgett's *Blessed Thomas More* and *Blessed John Fisher*; Carlyle's *Hero-Worship** (Lecture IV.: Luther and Knox).

(iii.) *Men of Action:* Fulke Greville's *Sidney*; Julian Corbett's *Sir Francis Drake**; Stebbing's *Ralegh*; Fox-Bourne's *Sir Philip Sidney** and *English Seamen under the Tudors*; Prince's *Devon Seamen*; G. M. Towle's *Heroes of History* (Vasco da Gama, Magellan, Pizarro, Drake, etc.); Lives of Columbus, Magellan, and John Davys in Messrs. Philip's "Great Explorers Series."

APPENDIX III.

ORIGINAL AUTHORITIES FOR THE TUDOR PERIOD.

NOTE.—"*R.S.*" = published by the authority of the Master of the Rolls; "*C.S.*" = published by the Camden Society; "*P.S.*" = published by the Parker Society.

I. GENERAL.—(i.) **Chronicles**: Hall's *Union of the Families of Lancaster and York* (to 1547); Holinshed's *Chronicles* (to 1577), [both these were used by Shakspere]; Polydore Vergil's *Historia Anglica* (to 1538); Stowe's *Summary of the Chronicles of England's Annales* (to 1592), and *Survey of London and Westminster*.

(ii.) **Documents**: *Calendars of State Papers* (*R.S.*); Hardwicke's *State Papers*; *Statutes of the Realm*, vols. iii.-v.; *Parliamentary History of England*; Somers' *Collections of Tracts*, vols. i.-ix.; Ellis's *Collection of Original Letters*.

II. ECCLESIASTICAL.—Strype's *Ecclesiastical Memorials*: Amos' *Statutes of the Reformation Parliament*; Heylin's *Ecclesia Restaurata*; Burnet's *History of the Reformation*; Sanders' *Historia Schismatis Anglici*; Foxe's *Acts and Monuments of the Church*; Roper's *Life of More*; Wright's *Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries* (*C.S.*); Pocock's *Records of the Reformation* (1527-33); *Formularies of Faith in the Reign of Henry VIII.* (*P.S.*); *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*; *Elizabethan Formularies* (*P.S.*); *Brief Discourse of the Troubles begun at Frankfort*; Hastings Robinson's *Zurich Letters* (*P.S.*); Maskell's *Martin Marprelate*.

III. SOCIAL.—Gairdner's *Paston Letters* (to 1509); *Venetian Relation*, 1496-1502 (*C.S.*); Eden's *State of the Poor*; Latimer's *Sermons* (*P.S.*: Arber); Starkey's *Dialogue*, 1530 (*E.E.T.S.*); *Supplication of the Poore Commons*, 1546 (*E.E.T.S.*); W. S.'s *Brief Conceit of English Policye*, 1581.

IV. HENRY VII.—Gairdner's *Letters and Papers* (*R.S.*); Campbell's *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII.* (*R.S.*); Fabyan's *Chronicle*; Bernard André's *Historia de Vita Henrici VII.* (*R.S.*).

V. HENRY VIII.—*Calendars of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic*—with Brewer's Prefaces (also published separately) down to 1529 (*R.S.*); Cavendish's *Life of Wolsey*; *Proceedings in the Privy Council*—from 1520 (*R.S.*); Machyn's *Diary*, 1550-63 (*C.S.*).

VI. EDWARD VI.—Hayward's *Life and Reign of Edward VI.*

VII. MARY.—Machyn; *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Queen Mary* (*C.S.*); Noailles' *Ambassades en Angleterre*.

VIII. ELIZABETH.—(i.) **Foreign**: *State Papers*—"Foreign Series" (*R.S.*): Granvella's *Correspondence*; Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove's *Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre*; Teulet's *Relations Politiques*—1515-88.

(ii.) **British**: Anderson's *Collections relating to Mary* [of Scots] *Queen of England*; Spenser's *State of Ireland*.

(iii.) **At Home**: *State Papers*—"Domestic Series" (*R.S.*): Camden's *History of the Most Renowned Princess Elizabeth*; *The Burghley Papers*—1542-96; *The Cecil Correspondence* (Historical MSS. Commission); Heywood Townshend's *Journal of Parliamentary Proceedings*, 1580-1601; Simon D'Ewes' *Journal of Elizabeth's Parliaments*; Naunton's *Fragmenta Regalia*; Harrington's *Nugae Antiquae*.

APPENDIX IV.

CHIEF OFFICIALS IN CHURCH AND STATE UNDER THE TUDORS.

	Archbishops of Canterbury.	Chancellors or Lord Keepers.	Governors of Ireland. [L.-Lieutenant, L.-Deputy, or L.-Justice.]
HENRY VII.	1454. Thomas Bourchier		1478. Gerald, 8th E. of Kildare, L.-D.
		1485. John Alcock.	1485. Jasper, D. of Bedford, L.-L.
	1486. John Morton.	1487. Cardinal Morton.	1494. Henry, D. of York, L.-L.; Sir Edward Poynings, L.-D.
	1501. Henry Dean.	1500. Henry Dean.	1496. Gerald, 8th E. of Kildare, L.-D.
	1503. William Warham.	1502. William Warham.	
HENRY VIII.		1515. Thomas Wolsey.	1513-19. Gerald, 9th E. of Kildare, L.-D.
			1521. Thomas Howard, E. of Surrey, L.-L.
			1522. Sir Piers Butler, L.-D.
			1524-6. Kildare, L.-D.
		1529. Sir Thomas More.	1528. Sir Piers Butler, L.-D.
			1530. Henry Fitzroy, D. of Richmond, L.-L.; Sir William Skeffington, L.-D.
		1532. Sir Thomas Audley, K.G. [C. in 1533].	1532-34. Kildare, L.-D.
	1533. Thomas Cranmer.		1534. Skeffington, L.-D.
			1535. Lord Leonard Grey, L.-D.
			1540. Sir Antony St. Leger, L.-D.
MARY. EDW. VI.		1544. Thomas Wriothesley.	1546. Sir William Brabazon, L.-D.; St. Leger, L.-D.
		1547. Sir William Paulet; later Richard Rich.	1548. Sir Edward Bellingham, L.-D.
		1551. Thomas Goodrich, Bp. of Ely.	1550. St. Leger, L.-D.
		1553. Stephen Gardiner, Bp. of Winchester.	1551. Sir James Croft.
	1556. Reginald Pole.	1556. Nicholas Heath, Archbp. of York.	1553. Sir Antony St. Leger, L.-D.
			1556. Thomas Radclyffe (afterwards E. of Sussex), L.-D.
			1557. Sir Henry Sidney, L.-J.
ELIZABETH.	1559. Matthew Parker.	1558. Sir N. Bacon, K. [William Cecil, Ld. Burghley, is Chief Secretary of State, till 1598].	1560. Sir William Fitzwilliam, L.-D.; Thomas Radclyffe, L.-D.
			1561. Earl of Sussex, L.-L.; Fitwilliam, L.-D.
			1565. Sir Henry Sidney, L.-D.
			1568. Sir Henry Sidney, L.-D.
	1576. Edmund Grindal.		1575. Sir Henry Sidney, L.-D.
		1579. Sir Thomas Bromley.	1580. Lord Grey de Wilton, L.D.
	1583. John Whitgift.		1582. Archbp. Loftus and Sir Henry Wallop, L.-J.
		1587. Sir Christopher Hatton.	1581. Sir John Perrot, L.-D.
			1588. Fitzwilliam, L.-D.
		1592. Sir John Puckering, K.	1594. Sir William Russell, L.D.
			1597. Lord Burgh, L.-D.
		1603. Sir Thomas Egerton, Lord Ellesmere, K.	1599. Earl of Essex, L.-L.
	1604. John Bancroft.		1600. Sir Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, L.-D.

APPENDIX V.

Some Leading Biographies.

Albany, John Stuart, fourth Duke of. The son of Alexander, Duke of Albany, who had taken shelter with Louis XI. from his brother James III. He was Admiral of France and a French subject, and was thus a fit agent for Francis I.'s intrigues in Scotland, after James IV.'s death at Flodden. He displaced the regent Margaret in 1515, secured the persons of the infant James V. and of Angus, the Queen Dowager's new husband, who was a member of the rival family of Douglas. They were restored in 1516, and Angus held the regency (not undisputed) till 1522, when Albany returned. Though he had 80,000 troops and 45 pieces of ordnance, he was checked by the unarmed bluster of Lord Dacre, Warden of the Western Marches. In the following year he again landed from France with ample supplies of men, ammunition and money; and the Scotch rallied round him rather than submit to the English designs of Margaret: yet he failed to take Wark Castle, and retired before Surrey 'with shame and fear.' Having thus proved himself, as Wolsey observed, 'a coward and a fool,' he finally quitted Scotland in 1524, and so far as France was concerned, that land had rest for eighteen years.

Angus, Archibald Douglas, sixth Earl of (1489-1557). Married Margaret, the Queen Dowager, within four months of the birth of her posthumous son (August, 1514), but did not help her very much in her struggle to maintain the English influence. He submitted to the return of Albany, and his election as regent, July, 1515. He went to England with his wife in 1516, but soon returned, only to quarrel with Arran. Margaret, on her return in 1519, sided against her husband, whom she nicknamed her *Anguish*, and wished to divorce. After she had obtained possession of her son in 1524, Angus returned and was supported by Henry VIII., who was annoyed by the infidelities of his sister, and by 1526 was completely successful. Against his will he was in 1528 divorced from Margaret, who at once married her lover, Henry Stuart, later created Lord Methven. Angus was not long afterwards expelled the country by the King, and lived in England from 1529 till 1542, under the protection of Henry VIII. On the death of James V. he returned, but exercised little influence.

Audley, Thomas, Lord (1488-1544). An Essex gentleman and member of the Inner Temple, brought under Henry VIII.'s notice by Suffolk. He sat in the Parliament of 1523, and was made speaker of

the Commons in the next Parliament (the Long Parliament, 1529). He actively promoted the Bills by which the severance from Rome was brought about, until January, 1533, when he was succeeded as speaker by Humphrey Wingfield. In the preceding year he had taken over the Great Seal from Sir Thomas More—whom he had previously succeeded in 1529 as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster: early in 1535 he exchanged the title lord keeper for lord chancellor. He was created Baron Audley of Walden in 1538, and died in 1544. 'Never was so much criminal jurisdiction committed to a lord chancellor,' says Gairdner; and this is a sure sign of his subservience to the King's will. He also managed, says Fuller, to 'carve for himself the first cut in the feast of abbey lands, and that a dainty morsel.'

Beaton (*or* **Bethune**), **David, Cardinal Archbishop of St. Andrews** (1494-1546). He was made a cardinal in 1537, and two years later succeeded his uncle as Archbishop of St. Andrews, and thus Primate of Scotland. Like his uncle, he was the head of the French party, and had a leading share in James V.'s two French marriages. On the King's death, in 1542, he produced a will naming himself, Huntley, Argyle, and Arran, joint regents. The will was declared a forgery, and Arran became governor. Arran entered into a marriage treaty with England, July, 1543; but two months later Beaton got the upper hand, and the Estates repudiated the treaty. This led to Hertford's invasion of 1544. Beaton was also, again like his uncle, a persecutor of the new faith: his burning of George Wishart in March, 1546, was avenged by his murder at the hands of Norman Leslie and Kirkaldy of Grange on the following May 29.

Beaufort, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby (1441-1509). Daughter and heiress of John, first Duke of Somerset. Suffolk tried to obtain her hand for his son John; but Henry VI. married her in 1455 to his half-brother, Edmund Tudor, Earl of Richmond, who, however, died next year, leaving her the mother of an infant son, afterwards Henry VII. In 1459 she married Sir Henry Stafford, son of the Duke of Buckingham, and on his death, in 1481, Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby. Though her son was nearest to the throne among the Lancastrians, she was treated with respect by the Yorkists. She took an active part in planning her son's invasion, and especially his alliance with the Wydvilles. Soon after Henry VII.'s accession she separated from her husband and took monastic vows, mainly under the influence of Fisher (*q.v.*). She was a patron of Caxton and Erasmus; she founded the 'Lady Margaret' divinity professorships at Oxford and Cambridge, in 1502; and got permission to refound a corrupt monastery as St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1508. 'It would fill a volume,' notes Stow, 'to recount her good deeds.'

Bedford, John Russell, first Earl of (d. 1555). A gentleman of Dorsetshire, who, as a member of Henry VIII.'s court, obtained large grants of the sequestered Church lands. He took part with Suffolk in repressing the Lincolnshire rising of 1536, and in 1539 was made a peer. He was one of the executors under Henry VIII.'s will, and in 1549 crushed the religious insurrection in the West. Made Earl of Bedford in 1550, he attached himself to Warwick, and aided in

bringing about Somerset's fall. In 1551 he was appointed lord privy seal, and continued in office under Mary, conforming to the Catholic religion.

Bonner, Edmund, Bishop of London (1500-1569). After being a fellow-servant of Cromwell's under Wolsey, he was sent to Rome in 1532, to protest against the summons of the King to Rome. He displayed much zeal for the Divorce, and in 1533 was appointed to make an appeal at Marseilles from the Pope to a General Council. In 1538, after performing several missions for the King, he was chosen Bishop of Hereford, but was next year translated to London. He was a member of the Moderates under Henry VIII.; but, disgusted by the excesses of the reforming party under Edward VI.—against which he early protested, and was consequently deprived and imprisoned in 1549—he threw himself heart and soul into Mary's plans for reconciliation with Rome. He was one of the first to restore the Mass, and won much hate through his zeal in persecution. On Elizabeth's accession he was deprived and committed to the Marshalsea, where he spent the rest of his days.

Burghley, William Cecil, Lord (1520-1598). His early career was highly characteristic of 'an age in which it was present drowning not to swim with the stream' (Fuller). He was in turn friend to Somerset, to Northumberland—whose 'device for the succession' he signed, but only as a witness—to Cardinal Pole, and to Elizabeth. He became secretary of state to this last immediately on her accession, and for forty years was 'the oracle whom she consulted on every emergency, and whose answers she generally obeyed.' On him she showered estates and honours: he had three hundred landed estates when he died; he was made a peer in 1571; and he alone had the privilege of sitting in the Queen's presence. He bitterly opposed her proposed marriage with Leicester (*q.v.*), and encouraged the Queen's thrifty habits even to parsimony. In foreign policy he early began to advocate the adoption of an attitude of open hostility with Spain: at home, though an *Adiaphorist* himself—that is, he did not set much stock by doctrinal differences—he persecuted the Catholics. He is not usually credited with greatness, but he was an adroit and industrious statesman. 'He had,' says Macaulay, 'a cool temper, a sound judgment, great powers of application, and a constant eye to the main chance.'

Cranmer, Thomas, Archbishop of Canterbury (1484-1556). He was educated at Cambridge, where he became a Fellow of Jesus College. In 1528 he met Gardiner and Fox, commissioners engaged in the Divorce, and suggested that the spiritual courts in England were quite competent to declare such a marriage void, as contrary to the law of God. He wrote a thesis in support of this position and was sent to negotiate with both Pope and Emperor. While in Germany he contracted an uncanonical marriage with the niece of Osiander, a prominent Protestant. None the less, he was designated successor to Warham, in 1532, and, immediately after his consecration, declared the marriage with Katharine null and void (May 23, 1533), and crowned Anne Boleyn Queen (June). He was required to dissolve the latter marriage in May, 1536, and to divorce Henry from Anne

of Kleves in 1540. He also gave the King the information which ultimately brought Katharine Howard to the block (1541-1542). He took little part in politics, being absorbed in theological studies which resulted in his *Bible* (1540), in his English version of the old *Uses* (the *King's Primer*, 1546), and in a revision of the Canon Law. Still, he was as distinctly head of the party of the 'New Learning' (Progressive) as Gardiner of the 'Old Learning'; and twice the latter, when in the ascendant, tried to ruin him. Henry, however, stood by him, and named him one of the executors of his will. Under Edward VI., though he largely influenced the religious changes, he only took part in two political actions of importance: (1) he placed the coronation oath after the expression of popular assent, thus implying that the latter was unnecessary; and (2) he gave a reluctant adhesion to Northumberland's scheme for diverting the succession from Mary. For this he was condemned of high treason (1553), and in 1555 he was convicted of heresy. After failing to save his life by recantation, he was burnt at the stake in Oxford (March 21, 1556).

Drake, Sir Francis (1545-1596). Early took to the sea under his relative, Sir John Hawkins (*q.v.*), and after several minor expeditions (1570, 1572, etc.) whereby Spain suffered, undertook one in which he plundered the towns on the west coast of South America, and circumnavigated the globe (1577-1580). For this exploit he was knighted. In 1585 he captured Cartagena and other towns in the Spanish Main. Two years later he 'singed the King of Spain's beard' by burning 10,000 tons of shipping in Cadiz harbour, and returned home to take a leading part as vice-admiral in the defeat of the Armada (July, 1588). Next year he burnt Corunna. In 1595 he again sailed to the West Indies with Hawkins, and died off Porto Bello early in 1596.

Dudley, Sir Edmund (1462-1510). Son of a Sussex gentleman, and member of Gray's Inn, he accompanied Henry VII. to France in 1492, and is said to have been made a privy councillor at the early age of three-and-twenty. He was speaker in 1504, but his main business was by means of legal finesse to drain the purses of the nobility. Bacon says of him and his colleague Empson, that they were accounted the King's 'horse-leeches and shearers, bold men and careless of fame, and that took toll of their master's grist.' On Henry VIII.'s accession they were arrested on the charge of conspiring against the new King's life, and were both attainted and executed in August, 1510.

Essex, Thomas Cromwell (or **Crumwell**), **Earl of** (1490-1540). Little is known of his youth: he seems to have been the son of a blacksmith at Putney, and to have been a soldier in Italy, a Venetian trader, a clerk at Antwerp, and a wool-merchant at Middleborough, before entering Wolsey's service, about 1527. It was, however, in Italy that his character was formed; and *Inglese italianato diavolo incarnato* was a proverb of his time not inapplicable to him. On Wolsey's fall in 1529 he managed, while standing alone in fidelity to his master, to make friends of many nobles, and to please the King by urging him to solve the Divorce-question by the use of his dormant supremacy. He became a knight and privy councillor in 1531, and chief secretary and master of the rolls three years later; and when at last Henry followed

his advice, Cromwell was appointed as vicar-general, to exercise the ecclesiastical powers attributed to the crown in the *Act of Supremacy* (1535). As such he ranked before his friend the Primate Cranmer. His first work was a general visitation of the monasteries: this resulted in the suppression of the smaller ones in 1536, and the enforced surrender of the larger ones during the three following years. In this business he was experienced, having done the same thing for Wolsey when founding Cardinal College. By means of numerous spies he was able to find out and punish any of the clergy who spoke against the religious innovations. Though untrammelled by any religious feeling, he supported the advanced party, and even forced the marriage with Anne of Kleves on Henry, in order to form a link with the Lutheran princes of North Germany against Charles V. (1540). He was created Earl of Essex for this, but his policy was both distasteful to the King and unsuccessful. He was quite alone—the gentry hating him as an upstart, and the clergy as a meddling layman—when he was accused of malversation, heresy and treason. He was condemned unheard by Bill of Attainder, and executed July 28, 1540.

Essex, Walter Devereux, Earl of (1540-1576). He became Earl of Essex in 1572. The title had already changed hands twice during the period; the last of the Bourchiers died in 1539; Cromwell enjoyed the honours for a few months next year; they then passed to William Parr, brother of Henry VIII.'s sixth Queen, who was attainted in 1553; it became extinct in the Devereux family in 1646, and passed to the Capels in 1661. He aided in the repression of the northern revolt of 1569, and soon afterwards went to Ireland as a planter. 'He sacrificed his fortune in vain in that quagmire of anarchy' (Hall), and died there in 1576 as Earl Marshal of Ireland. He is supposed to have been murdered by his wife, Lettice Knollys, who then became Leicester's third wife.

Fisher, John (1459-1535). He was one of the chief supporters of the New Learning at Cambridge, both in Greek and in theology. Was created Bishop of Rochester in 1504, and was especially recommended as an adviser to Henry VIII. by his grandmother, the Lady Margaret (*q.v.*), whose benefactions he to a large extent directed. He came into conflict with Henry's ecclesiastical aims so early as 1529; he had even before that taken up his stand against the Divorce; and he was thought to be concerned in the Nun of Kent's treason. He was imprisoned for refusing the oath of the succession in 1534, and was beheaded on June 22 in the following year, for denying the supremacy. He had shortly before been made cardinal, and in 1886 he was beatified by Leo XIII.

Gardiner, Stephen (1483-1555). After a distinguished career at Cambridge, became chancellor of the university in 1540. Before then he had won great favour with Henry VIII. for his services in promoting the Divorce. He and Fox, Bishop of Winchester, were sent to see the Pope at Orvieto in 1528; he persuaded his university to declare against the legality of marriage with a deceased brother's wife in 1531; and he wrote a book, *De Vera Obedientia*, upholding the supremacy. For this he was rewarded with the See of Winchester, of which he was

deprived in 1551. He was restored on Mary's accession, and became lord chancellor, and chief adviser to the Queen. He quite forsook the moderate position he had taken up during Henry VIII.'s reign, recanted his anti-papal views, and joined in the Marian persecution. He died, shortly before his great rival, Cranmer, in October, 1555.

Hawkins, Sir John (1520-1595). Adventurer and merchant-mariner during Elizabeth's reign. Established the slave-trade by purchasing a cargo of slaves in Guinea (1562) and selling them in Hispaniola (1564). Appointed treasurer of the navy, 1573; and later commanded the south-west fleet against the Armada; was knighted for his services. He died in a subsequent expedition with Drake to the West Indies.

Howard Family. The most prominent members of this family during the Tudor period were :—(1) John, the first duke, d. 1485; his mother was the heiress of the Mowbrays, the previous holders of the title; (2) his son *Thomas, second duke,* d. 1524; (3) his son *Thomas, third duke,* d. 1554; also four other children—(*a*) Sir Edward (II. § 4); (*b*) Edmund, father to Katharine, Henry VIII.'s fifth wife; (*c*) William, Lord Howard of Effingham, whose son Charles defeated the Armada in 1588; (*d*) Elizabeth, who married Thomas Boleyn, and was the mother of Mary and Anne Boleyn (II. § 14); (4) *Henry, Earl of Surrey,* son to the third duke, d. 1547; (5) his son *Thomas, fourth duke,* d. 1572. (The italicized names are treated separately.)

Latimer, Hugh (1490-1555). Son of a Leicestershire yeoman, educated at Clare Hall, Cambridge. Brought forward by Cromwell, he became chaplain to Henry VIII., and finally Bishop of Worcester (1535). Refusing to accept the *Six Articles* he was deprived (1541), and imprisoned until the accession of Edward VI., during whose reign, though occupying no official position, he worked hard for the Reformation. Imprisoned at Mary's accession, and burnt with Ridley at Oxford, October 16, 1555. A popular and eloquent preacher, he maintained throughout his career a vigorous and fearless warfare against ecclesiastical and social abuses; on the latter especially his sermons throw much light.

Leicester, Robert Dudley, Earl of (1532-1588). The fifth son of Northumberland, he early became a favourite at the court of Elizabeth, who long seemed likely to marry him. Her partiality was prevented from going such lengths by Cecil's cogent arguments against the marriage:

> 1. Nothing is increased by marriage of him, either in riches, estimation, or power. 2. It will be thought that the slanderous speeches of the Queen with the earl have been true. 3. He shall study nothing but to enhance his own particular friends to wealth, to offices, to lands, and to offend others. 4. He is infamed by the death of his wife. 5. He is far in debt. 6. He is like to be unkind and jealous of the Queen's majesty.

Though she did not marry him, Elizabeth bestowed many marks of favour on him besides the endearing epithet of *Sweet Robin.* In 1562, when she thought she was dying, she appointed him protector; in 1563 she proposed him as husband to Mary, Queen of Scots; in 1564 she made him Earl of Leicester; in 1585-1586 she placed him over an expedition to the Netherlands, which he bungled sadly; and was

about to make him Lieutenant-General of England and Ireland, in face of the Armada, when he fortunately died. He hated Cecil, and all who supported any marriage proposal for the Queen. In 1560 he is supposed to have had his wife Anne (or Amy) Robsart put out of the way at Cumnor, in order to be free to marry the Queen. In 1578 he married the Countess of Essex, who is said to have poisoned one husband to secure the other. After 1567 he posed as the champion of Puritanism.

Lethington, William Maitland of (d. 1573). 'An able and inscrutable politician,' who began his career as a friend of Mary, to whom he acted as secretary of state. He was one of the Lords of the Congregation, opposed the Darnley marriage, helped to defeat and expel the Queen (1567-1568), and then put himself at the head of the party which sought her restoration. He said he 'would make the Queen of England sit upon her tail and whine like a whipped dog,' and died of grief when his hopes were blasted by the capture of Edinburgh Castle in May, 1573.

More, Sir Thomas (1478-1535). Son of Sir John More, justice of the King's Bench: spent his childhood in the household of Cardinal Morton, who predicted that the boy would turn out a marvellous man. At Oxford, 1497, he made the acquaintance of Erasmus. Joined Lincoln's Inn in 1499, and acted as Under-Sheriff of London, 1510. He is said to have begun his political career in opposing Henry VII.'s demand for an *aid* in 1504 (?), but was employed in several missions for Henry VIII. in 1514-1516. As speaker of the Commons in 1523, he resisted Wolsey's attempt to coerce the House into granting the large sum of £800,000. He succeeded Wolsey as lord chancellor in November, 1529, and as such opened the Seven Years' Reformation Parliament. Though an earnest champion of reform, he was opposed to schism, and soon after the *Submission of the Clergy* gave up the seals in May, 1532. He was accused of complicity in Elizabeth Barton's 'treason,' but, on the prayer of Cranmer, etc., was pardoned (1534). A few months later he was committed to the Tower for refusing to swear to the preamble of the *Act of Succession*, and on July 6, 1535, was executed for declining to accept 'the whole effects and contents' of the *Act of Supremacy*. By a decree of Leo XIII. he was in 1886 declared a *Martyr*. He was one of the foremost scholars of the New Learning, and anticipated many modern improvements in the treatment of labour, education, sanitation, religious toleration, etc., in his political and social romance, *Utopia*.

Morton, John, Cardinal Archbishop of Canterbury (1410-1500). Educated for the law at Balliol College, Oxford, he was a devoted adherent of Queen Margaret till the battle of Tewkesbury, 1471. On submitting to the victor, he was made master of the rolls (1472), and Bishop of Ely (1479). He attended the death-bed of Edward IV., but was suspected by Richard III. He joined in Buckingham's rising of October, 1483, but escaped from Brecon to Flanders, where he acted in Henry Tudor's interests. On Henry's accession his attainder was reversed, and he became a member of the Privy Council. Later he was raised to the primacy (1486), and the woolsack (1487). In 1493 he was made a cardinal. As Henry's leading minister he retained

the Lancastrian practice of ruling through Parliament, but 'was not,' remarks Bishop Stubbs, 'in his financial administration faithful to the constitutional principle.' For his use of benevolences see I. § 15. Bacon considered that 'he deserveth a most happy memory in that he was the principal means of joining the two Roses.'

Morton, James Douglas, fourth Earl of (1530-1581). A nephew of Angus (*q.v.*), he became a privy councillor on Mary's return to Scotland in 1561, and supported her loyally till he suspected she had designs on his lands. He then joined Maitland in promoting the bond which led to Rizzio's murder (1566), commanded the 150 men who seized Holyrood to cover the deed, and gave refuge to the conspirators while they were negotiating a bond of security. Driven across the border by the 2,000 troops Bothwell and Huntley had raised for Mary, he returned next year and took an active part in the proceedings against the Queen. Though he had been a party to the bond for promoting the Bothwell marriage, he was one of the earliest to join the secret council against the royal couple; and it was he who produced the famous *Casket Letters* (1567). He was rewarded by being restored to his offices of lord high chancellor and lord high admiral; and after the death of Mar in October, 1572, he was appointed regent, on the very day of his friend John Knox's death, November 24, 1572. Owing to the animosity of Athole and Arygle, he lost the favour of the young King, and retired to Lochleven. He came back to public life only to be accused of a share in Darnley's murder, to be condemned by sixteen peers, and to be executed (June 2, 1581). As regent he relied chiefly on the towns, and sought by adopting a moderate Protestantism, and enforcing peace on the borders, etc., to further the future union of Scotland and England. He seems to have spoken truth when he said: 'The King sal luse a gude servand this day!'

Murray (or Moray), James Stuart, second Earl of (1533-1570). An illegitimate son of James V. by Margaret Erskine, he was made Prior of St. Andrews when but five years old. He showed, however, no inclination for monasticism, and was among the earliest to join in the reforming movement in 1559. At the head of the National party, he urged his half-sister Mary's return home from France in 1561, and, as her chief adviser, induced her to acquiesce in the late religious changes in Scotland (ch. VII.). In 1562 he was created Earl of Mar, but on the title being claimed by Lord Erskine gave it up, with the property attached to it, and was compensated with the Earldom of Murray. He was outlawed in 1565 for defending John Knox, accused of high treason, and for opposing the Darnley marriage, but was allowed to return after the death of Rizzio, March, 1566. He withdrew to France during the ensuing troubles, but was recalled after Mary's abdication, in July, 1567, to act as regent to the infant King James VI. He filled his difficult position with rare honesty, moderation, tact and courage, and was able to put down both Mary's attempt to oust him in 1568 (*Langside*, May 13), and that of the Duke of Chatelherault shortly afterwards. He was shot down while riding through Linlithgow by James Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, January 23, 1570.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard, second Duke of (d. 1524). Fought

against Henry VII. at Bosworth, where his father was killed. After suffering imprisonment he gave in his allegiance to Henry. As Earl of Surrey was appointed commander in the North, and acted against James IV., whom in the next reign he defeated at Flodden, 1513. In 1514 he received back the dukedom, and became lord marshal. Engaged in the fruitless operations against France (1522), and checked the invasion of Albany in 1523, thus securing peace with Scotland for eighteen years.

Norfolk, Thomas Howard, third Duke of (1473-1554). On his father's death, in 1524, became prominent as leader of the nobility in the Council, and chief opponent of Wolsey, whom on his fall, in 1529, he succeeded as chief adviser to the King. Was commissioner with Shrewsbury, to negotiate with the leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace, 1537, and instrumental in passing the Six Articles, 1539—a triumph of his policy. Commanded English army in Scotland in 1542. The reform party in 1546 acquired sufficient influence to secure his arrest and condemnation for treason. Only the King's death saved him, and he remained a prisoner throughout the next reign. On Mary's accession he was released, and took an active part in the condemnation of Northumberland and the suppression of the Kentish rising.

Norfolk, Thomas, fourth Duke of (1536-1572). Commanded the army in the North during Elizabeth's earlier years, and in 1568 was president of the commission of inquiry at York into charges against Mary, Queen of Scots. Concerned in a plot in Mary's favour—he was to marry her—he was arrested in 1569, but next year released. Again conspiring against Elizabeth, he renewed his engagements with Mary, intrigued with Spain, and—publicly professing the old faith—allied himself with the Catholics of the North. He was arrested in September, 1571, condemned of high treason, and executed in June of the following year.

Northumberland, John Dudley, Duke of (1502-1553). Son of Henry VIII.'s extortioner, executed in 1510. Like Somerset—whose daughter his eldest son married in 1547—he was knighted in 1523. In 1542 was raised to the peerage as Viscount Lisle, and made lord high admiral. In that capacity he conveyed Somerset's troops to Scotland, and during the next two years was occupied in defending the south coast against a French fleet of superior numbers. He took a leading part in the battle of *Pinkie*, 1547, and was again on his way to Scotland in 1549 when he turned aside to crush Ket's insurrection at *Dussindale* (August 27). Two months later he assisted the Council in expelling Somerset from power, and became president of the Council. He took up the late Protector's forward policy in religion, but lacked his sincerity. He was hardly more successful, and much less popular, than his predecessor, whom, early in 1552, he brought to the block for conspiring against himself. He had been created Earl of Warwick in 1547 : he now (October, 1551) became Duke of Northumberland. He foresaw that with the accession of Mary his day would be over, so worked on Edward's Protestant feelings to set aside her and her sister Elizabeth, and make Lady Jane Grey his successor. This was effected in June, 1553, before which time the selected heiress had been forced

to marry his son, Lord Guildford Dudley. On Edward's death, July 6, 1553, Queen Jane was proclaimed, but Northumberland found the country against him, and surrendered at Cambridge to Mary. He was found guilty of treason, and on August 22 was beheaded on Tower Hill, a professed Catholic.

Paget, William, Lord (1506-1563). Of humble origin ; became one of the secretaries of state 1543, and negotiated the French peace of 1546. Was an executor of Henry VIII.'s will, and during Edward VI.'s reign a consistent and faithful supporter of Somerset, by whom he was entrusted with a diplomatic mission in 1549, and raised to the peerage. On Somerset's fall he was imprisoned, but released in 1551, and, as lord keeper under Mary, urged moderation in ecclesiastical matters and alliance with Spain, but inclined towards the French alliance after Elizabeth's accession.

Parker, Matthew, Archbishop of Canterbury (1504-1575). Chaplain to Henry VIII., became in 1552 Dean of Lincoln, and, having escaped the Marian persecution, was elevated by Elizabeth to the primacy in 1559. Revised the *Thirty-Nine Articles* (1562), took part in the translation of the *Bishops' Bible* (1563-1568), issued the *Advertisements* (1565), and generally aimed at organising a system of Church government, strictly enforcing uniformity, and opposed to both Romanism and Puritanism. His theology was Calvinistic, and—married himself—he ran counter to the Queen's prejudice in favour of a celibate clergy.

Pole, Reginald, Cardinal and Archbishop (1500-1558). The son of Sir Richard Pole, by Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, daughter to George, Duke of Clarence. He was educated under Henry VIII.'s direction at Magdalen College, Oxon, for the Church, and spent five years at Padua. He was offered the See of York in 1531, but would not give in the adhesion to the Divorce required in return. 'I love him in spite of his obstinacy,' said Henry ; 'and were he of my opinion in this matter, I would love him better than any man in my kingdom.' He was allowed to retire to Italy, where he and Contarini were the leading advocates of an attempt to meet the Lutherans half-way, especially in the matter of justification by faith. In the last days of 1536 he was created cardinal by Paul III., and sent next year as legate to Cambray to aid the northern Catholics. This mission, and a second mission early in 1539 to urge on Charles V. and Francis I. the enforcement of the Bull of deposition against Henry, only resulted in the death of his mother and brother and many others (1538-41). His political importance, so far as England was concerned, ceased with this : the only other thing to be noted in his relations with Henry VIII. is his treatise *Pro Ecclesiasticæ Unitatis Defensione*—posthumously published. He was one of the leaders of the party which sought to win back the Lutherans by accepting their tenet of justification by faith, etc., and on three occasions missed the tiara by small majorities. On Mary's accession his attainder was reversed—he had been included in the Bill against his mother—and in November, 1554 he entered London as legate, and in that capacity formally reconciled England with Rome. He succeeded Cranmer as Archbishop of Canterbury in April, 1556. His moderation

brought him into disgrace with Pope Paul IV., who suspended his legatine authority, but Mary stood by him. He died on the day after Mary, November 17, 1559.

Rich, Richard, Lord (d. 1560). As solicitor-general in 1535, secured the condemnation of Sir Thomas More ; and rewarded with the speakership in 1537, was henceforth a willing and able instrument of the royal will. In 1547 named one of the Council, and became lord chancellor. Was concerned in Lord Seymour's fall, and afterwards deserted Somerset and became active in the cause of the opposition.

Ridley, Nicholas (1500-1555). Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and royal chaplain during Henry VIII.'s reign ; he was made Bishop of Rochester in 1547, and in 1550 translated to London, dispossessing Bonner. One of the authors of Edward VI.'s *First Prayer-Book*, he was zealous in clearing his diocese of the forms of Catholic worship, and in his anxiety for Protestantism supported Northumberland's scheme for the disposition of the crown in 1553. On Mary's accession he was deprived and imprisoned, and in 1555 condemned of heresy by a legatine commission and burnt with Latimer at Oxford (October 16).

Somerset, Edward Seymour, Duke of (d. 1552). A Wiltshire gentleman who was knighted for his services in France under Suffolk in 1523. He rose to importance, with the title of Viscount Beauchamp, when Henry VIII. married his sister Jane in 1536. Four years later he was made Earl of Hertford. In 1544 he conducted an expedition to the Forth, which burnt Leith, but failed to take Edinburgh Castle, and which he transported later in the year to join Henry before Boulogne. He sided with the reforming party, and thus the fall of the Howards in 1546-47 was in his favour. Named one of the sixteen executors of Henry's will, he got himself named Protector, and acquired much influence over his royal nephew. He zealously pressed on religious and social reforms, but the only practical outcome was the risings of 1549 in the West and in Norfolk. These he did not meet vigorously, and that, combined with the barrenness of his victory at Pinkie Cleugh (September 10, 1547) and the ill success of his foreign policy, enabled his rival Warwick to supplant him. The Council sent him to the Tower (October, 1549), but he was released in February, 1550. An attempt to regain his influence led to his arrest in October next year for treason and felony. Being found guilty on the latter count, he was, to the regret of the populace, executed January 22, 1552.

Surrey, Henry Howard, Earl of (1516-1547). Son of the third Duke of Norfolk. Engaged in French and Scotch wars, superseded in 1546 owing to a defeat as Governor of Boulogne, and in 1547 fell a victim to the ascendancy of the reforming party in the Council, being accused of treason, condemned and executed. For his position as a writer, see *U. C. C. Hist. Lit.*, 1485-1580, ch. ii.

Sussex, Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of (d. 1583). A rough soldier and a favourite cousin to Elizabeth. He was Lord-Deputy of Ireland from 1560-1567. He restored the ecclesiastical *régime* of Edward VI.'s reign, but later quarrelled with Sidney and was recalled. He was then sent to Vienna to negotiate the Queen's marriage with the Archduke

Charles, and on his return was made President of the North. Though in favour of the suggested union of Norfolk and Mary, he loyally put down the revolt of the northern earls in 1569, and a few years later invaded Scotland thrice in order to compel their extradition.

Tunstall, Cuthbert (1474-1559). Bishop of London (1522) and Durham (1524); was one of the executors of Henry VIII.'s will, but was at once expelled from the Council by the reforming party, and afterwards imprisoned, ostensibly for complicity with Somerset. Released under Mary, he was, with Bonner, Gardiner, and Day, a commissioner for purifying the episcopal bench; but on Elizabeth's accession refused the oath of supremacy, and was deprived of his see. He has been described as "a spirit without a spot."

Walsingham, Sir Francis (1536-1590). Was ambassador to France during the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign, and in 1573 became privy councillor. As such he secured the condemnation of Mary of Scotland in 1587, and conducted negotiations with foreign Powers. In his anxiety about the succession, he urged the marriage with Anjou in 1567-72; pressed on severe measures against that "dangerous woman," Mary, whom he is said to have bidden Sir Amyas Paulet to murder; and befriended the Puritans. Hallam refers approvingly to a tract of his on Elizabeth's religious attitude (*Const. Hist.*, v., last page). He married his daughter Frances successively to Sir Philip Sidney and to Robert, second Earl of Essex (*qq.v.*).

Warham, William, Archbishop of Canterbury (1456-1532). A supporter of the New Learning and patron of Erasmus. Became keeper of the great seal in 1502, and lord chancellor the following year. Was also successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of Canterbury. Resigned the chancellorship to Wolsey in 1515, opposed Wolsey's administration, resented the King's claim to ecclesiastical supremacy, and in 1532 resigned office, and soon after died.

Wolsey, Thomas, Cardinal (1471-1530). The son of a rich Ipswich grazier, he was educated at Magdalen College, Oxford, where he took his degree at the age of fifteen, and thus acquired the nickname of *The Boy Bachelor*. Thanks to his patrons, the Marquis of Dorset and Archbishop Dean, he entered Henry VII.'s service, and was rewarded with the deanery of Lincoln. He made himself indispensable in work and play to Henry VIII., who in 1513 gave him the bishopric of Tournay. In 1514 he was raised successively to the sees of Lincoln and York. He also administered, and enjoyed the revenues of, the sees of Bath and Wells, Winchester, and Durham. In 1515 he succeeded Warham as Lord Chancellor, and received a Cardinal's hat from Leo X., who in 1517 appointed him also *Legatus a latere*. The latter powers he used in trying to get rid of abuses, more particularly by suppressing useless religious houses and founding with their revenues a college at Ipswich and Cardinal College, Oxford (now Christ Church). He also had hopes of reforming the whole Church should he attain the Papacy. As chief minister, he relied little on Parliament—which only met once, in 1523, during his sway, and was not easy to deal with—but rather strengthened the Council; while in foreign policy he leaned to alliance with

Charles V. until after the battle of Pavia, 1525, when he joined in Henry's change of front and favoured Francis. It was with a view to arranging a marriage-connection with France that Wolsey at first encouraged the Divorce; and on his failure to obtain that from the Pope, the long-impending charge of having infringed the Statute of *Praemunire* was allowed to fall upon him in October 1529. He had to give up the Seal and most of his property, but was allowed to retire to his see of York. He died of dysentery at Leicester Abbey, on his way up to answer a fresh charge—of treason—Nov. 29, 1530.

Essex, Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of (1567-1601). He entered Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1577, the year after the death of his father, Walter, 1st Earl of Essex (*q.v.*), went to Court in 1584, and in the following year followed his stepfather Leicester to the Netherlands. He was Philip Sidney's comrade at the battle of Zutphen, 1587, and three years later married his widow Frances. [For other connexions between the Devereux, the Dudleys, and the Sidneys see the life of the younger Sidney below, and Howard Tree, p. 202.] In 1588 he was General of Horse of the land-forces mustered to beat off the Armada; in 1591 he was in Normandy, warring for Henry IV. of France; he shared with Ralegh (*q.v.*) the honour of taking Cadiz in 1596, and the dishonour of the "Island Voyage" in 1597. Meanwhile in Court and Council at home he was heading the war-party against Burghley; and after the latter's death in 1598 his son, Robert Cecil, procured his trial and disgrace, after his failure, as Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599—1600, to put down Tyrone. Believing that if he could but get an interview with the Queen, who had shown him as marked favour as she had shown Leicester, he would be restored to his old position, he tried to force a way by arms to her presence. He failed; was found guilty of high treason by the High Steward's Court; and on Feb. 25, 1601, was beheaded.

Perrot, Sir John (1527-1592). The beginning, middle, and end of his life were alike passed under a cloud, for he was reputed a natural son of Henry VIII.; he was imprisoned by Mary on religious grounds; and he died of despair in the Tower, under sentence for treasonable language towards Elizabeth, and for treasonable dealings with Spain during his Irish career. Still he is generally regarded as the best of Tudor governors in Ireland, having, as President of Munster, under Sir Henry Sidney (when he received Fitzmaurice's submission in 1572), acquired the experience which he was able to use as Lord-Deputy, 1584-1588. Davies classes him with St. Leger, Sussex, and Sidney (*i.e.* A 1), and says he "did advance the reformation in three principal points": (*a*) in establishing the great composition of Connaught; (*b*) in reducing unreformed parts of Ulster into seven shires; and (*c*) in vesting in the Crown, and in partly planting, the Desmond lands in Munster. This last was after the second great Desmond Rising, 1579-1581.

Ralegh (or **Raleigh**), **Sir Walter** (1552-1618). The son of a Devon gentleman, and a student at Oxford, he went to help the French

Huguenots in 1569, and in 1578 accompanied his half-brother, Sir Humfrey Gilbert, in the search for a N.-W. passage to Cathay. Two years later he was, with his friend Spenser, serving in Ireland under Lord Grey de Wilton, and took part in the Smerwick Massacre. He obtained a grant of some 12,000 acres of the Desmond lands, and on his estate at Myrtle Grove, Youghal, is said to have grown for the first time in Europe the tobacco and potatoes introduced by his agents from Virginia in 1586 and 1596 respectively. In 1581 (whether by the sacrifice of his cloke to the Queen's dry-footedness or no) he came into favour with Elizabeth; he was knighted in 1585, and made Captain of the Queen's Guard in 1597. In 1584, the year after the death of Gilbert, he took over the large charter of colonisation, which the latter had obtained in 1578; but the several expeditions which he despatched (enumerated in the Table at the beginning of ch. xi.) failed to effect a permanent settlement in Virginia. Still it was these voyages that formed the basis of Spenser's description of him (in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*) as "the Shepherd of the Ocean." He took part in the repulse of the Armada (1588); went to Guayana in search of *El Dorado* (1595); shared in Essex's capture of Cadiz in 1596; and quarrelled with him during the "Island Voyage" of 1597. His quarrel with Essex ended in the latter's execution (1601); his contemporary quarrel with the younger Cecil brought about his own in James I.'s reign. He was sentenced to death for his supposed participation in the plot in favour of Arabella Stuart, but was not executed till 1618, after a second expedition to Guayana in search of gold, in which he had injured James I.'s "dear brother of Spain." While in the Tower (1603-1615) he wrote his *History of the World*: "a Body of History," as Oliver Cromwell told his son, "that will add much more to your understanding than fragments of story."

Sidney, Sir Henry (1529-1586). One of Edward VI.'s most intimate friends, he was knighted, in 1551, and married to the Duke of Northumberland's daughter, Lady Mary Dudley. He supported the scheme in favour of the Lady Jane, but by submitting early was continued in the service of the State, being in 1554 sent to Spain to bring back King Philip to his wedding with Queen Mary, and in 1556 being sent to Ireland to serve under his brother-in-law, Thomas Radclyffe (after 1562 Earl of Sussex). During the latter's absence in England he acted as Lord-Justice (1557-1560), and on his return home was made Lord President of Wales. This office he retained till the year before his death, though many other missions called him away from his Court at Ludlow, and especially his three Irish Lord-Deputyships: (*a*) 1565-1567, marked by the suppression of Shane O'Neil; (*b*) 1568-1571, during which time the quarrel between Desmond and Ormonde, which had long hampered him, issued in the first Desmond rising, under Sir James Fitzmaurice; and (*c*) 1575-1578, when he was occupied in preparing the country against the threatened Spanish interference. There was some talk of sending him out again in 1582 after Lord Grey's failure, but his terms were too high to suit Elizabeth. Amongst the "monuments of a good governor" which Davies enumerates as left behind by him are: the

reduction of parts of Leinster and Connaught to counties (seven new ones); the abolition of "captainships with all exactions and extortions incident thereunto"; attempt to introduce Common-Law rules of inheritance; provision for at least one free school per diocese; the establishment of Presidencies; the imposition of customs duties, and of a regular tax in the Pale instead of a military purveyance or cess.

Sidney, Sir Philip (1554-1586). Eldest son of the foregoing, born at Penshurst in Kent, named after his godfather, King Philip, he was educated at Shrewsbury School and at Christ Church, Oxford. Amongst his college chums were Hakluyt, the geographer; Camden, the author of *Britannia*; and his own future biographer, Fulke Greville. He went in 1572 in the suite of the Earl of Lincoln to Paris, and there met Sir Francis Walsingham, and witnessed the massacre of S. Bartholomew. Thence he travelled about, staying at Frankfurt (where he won the friendship of Hubert Languet, who was probably the author of *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos*), Vienna, and Venice (where his portrait was painted by Paul Veronese), etc., and journeyed back to England in 1575. On his return he became a prominent courtier, falling into disgrace in 1580, on account of an outspoken letter to the Queen against the proposed Angevin marriage, but was gradually restored to favour as the truth of his judgment regarding Anjou became manifest, and in January 1583 he was knighted. In the following September he married Frances Walsingham, though so early as 1569 there had been some talk of a match between him and Anne Cecil, and, just before his death in 1576, the first Earl of Essex had expressed a wish that "son Philip" should marry his daughter Penelope—the lady who was the "Stella" of the sonnets which Philip wrote over the name of "Astrophel." Besides enduring what his friend Spenser (who, in 1579, dedicated the "Shepherd's Calendar" to him) called the "inconstant mutabilitie" and "lothesome idleness" of the Court, Philip was (*a*) an occasional promoter of Maritime Enterprise (*e.g.* in his subscription to Frobisher's voyages for the N.W. passage, 1576-1578, and in acquiring a grant by charter of 3,000,000 acres in North America), but he was sent back when, in 1585, he ran away from Court to join Drake; (*b*) a man of letters, in which "unelected vocation" he was President of the "Areopagus," a club for the promotion of classical metres and "the surceasing of bald rhymers," and wrote the prose pieces, *The Apology for Poetrie* (or *The Defence of Poesie*), and *Arcadia*, and the sonnets called *Astrophel and Stella*; (*c*) more frequently, a man of affairs, both as a diplomatist (*e.g.* in his important circular continental mission in search of allies in 1577), as an M.P. for Kent in the sessions of 1581 and 1584-5, as an administrator, especially as Governor of Flushing, 1585-6, and as a soldier, in which capacity he met his death in fighting under his uncle Leicester at Zutphen, in Gelderland, Sept. 21, 1586. In the cup of cold water incident we have him not at his best, but at his ordinary. He was held in universal esteem during his life, and has always been universally accepted as "the type of English Chivalry in the Elizabethan Age" [as he is called in Mr. Fox-Bourne's biography in the "Heroes of the Nations Series."]

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